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THOMAS JACKSON.

VOLUME VIII.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY JOHN MASON, 14, CITY-ROAD;
AND SOLD AT 66, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1838.

LONDON :-- Printed by James Nichols, 46, Hoxton-square.

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THE LIFE
OF THE
REV. FREEBORN GARRETTSON.

BY NATHAN BANGS, D.D.

SLIGHTLY ABRIDGED.

CONCLUDED FROM THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

THE LIFE
OF THE
REV. FREEBORN GARRETTSON.

CHAPTER XVI.

IN the year 1811 Mr. Garrettson was appointed again to the New-York District, over which he presided with dignity and usefulness four years. He was every where received, both by Preachers and people, as a father in the Gospel, and his word was often attended with power to the hearts of his hearers. It was at this time that the writer became more intimately acquainted with this venerable servant of God ; and still remembers with pleasure and gratitude the tenderness with which he was treated by him. With what delight have I accompanied him to some of his Quarterly Meetings, and witnessed the devotedness of his soul to the service of his divine Master !

Mr. Garrettson occasionally employed the hours, which were not otherwise devoted to the services of the sanctuary, in writing. The first publication was an account of his experience and travels, from which copious extracts have been

made in the first part of this memoir. The second was on the evils of slavery.

It was about this time that he published his sermon "On the Union of Fear, Hope, and Love in the Believer." The object of Mr. Garrettson in this sermon was to show how fear, hope, and love co-exist in the heart of a true believer in Christ, balancing and regulating each other.

At the General Conference held in the city of Baltimore, in 1808, on account of the great increase of our work, extending over so large a territory, the number of Travelling Preachers continually multiplying, it was resolved to establish a delegated General Conference, to be composed of a certain number of delegates to be elected by the several Annual Conferences. This measure, so necessary for the well-being of the Church, had been in contemplation by Bishop Asbury and others, elders in the ministry, for several years. When it was first proposed at this General Conference, it met with a determined opposition, and was finally lost by a very considerable majority. Towards the close of the Conference, however, it was reconsidered, and presented in a somewhat modified form, and very unanimously adopted.

The first delegated General Conference was held in the city of New-York in May, 1812. Among others, as delegates from the New-York Conference, was Mr. Garrettson; and such were

the respect and confidence manifested toward him by his brethren, that at every subsequent General Conference he was selected as one of their delegates. In this character, though he often differed with some of his brethren on certain points of church government, he always manifested the most stern and inflexible opposition to any innovation upon the established doctrines of the Church; at the same time cheerfully bowing to the will of the majority on matters of indifference.

In respect to the question on which the General Conference have long been divided in sentiment, namely, whether the Presiding Elders should continue to be appointed as they now are by the Bishops, or be elected by the Annual Conferences, Mr. Garrettson was in favour of their election by the Conferences. This is mentioned merely as an historical fact, without entering into the merits of the question, or intending even to express an opinion in relation to it, any farther than to say that, whether right or wrong, no doubt can be entertained that Mr. Garrettson acted from the purest motives, and according to the best dictates of his judgment.

At the close of his service as Presiding Elder of the New-York District, in the year 1816, he was again appointed as a Missionary within the bounds of the New-York Conference. This appointment was also designed, as is believed, to

give him an opportunity to travel at large, as his inclination, age, and circumstances might dictate ; the Conference and Bishops having full confidence that he would employ all his time and talents, in the best way he could, for the glory of God and the good of souls.

It was during this year that he published "A Letter to the Rev. Lyman Beecher, containing Animadversions on a Pamphlet" written by that gentleman, entitled, "An Address of the Charitable Society for the Education of pious young Men for the Ministry of the Gospel." This pamphlet of Mr. Beecher gave great offence to most of those denominations of Christians not connected with that charitable Society. To awaken a spirit of liberality among Christians for the support of that institution, Mr. Beecher gave a most pitiful description of the spiritual and moral desolations of our country, the paucity of "competent Ministers" to afford moral and religious instruction to the people ; and likewise made a powerful appeal to the community, to induce them to exert themselves, by every possible means, and especially by pecuniary contributions, to assist in educating and sending forth these "indigent, pious young men."

It was generally thought, and I believe very justly, that Mr. Beecher, in his descriptions of the spiritual destitution of many parts of our country, was not fully borne out by fact ; and

that in his estimate of the number of "qualified Ministers," he had excluded nearly all except those of his own denomination. He calculated the population of the country at that time to be eight millions; and says, that, from the best information he could obtain, there were not more than three thousand "educated Ministers of the Gospel in our land ; leaving a deficiency of five thousand Ministers, and a population of five millions destitute of proper religious instruction :" that is, on the ratio of one Minister for every one thousand of the population, which he supposes to be necessary to afford that quantum of religious instruction which the wants of society demanded.

It was supposed that Mr. Beecher designed to exclude nearly all other denominations except those of his own order—meaning thereby, the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Dutch Reformed orders—from being competent to preach the Gospel. According to the best data within our reach, there were not less than six thousand Ministers at that time belonging to the Presbyterian, Congregational, Dutch Reformed, Lutheran, Baptist, and Protestant Episcopal churches ; and allowing only two thousand for the Methodists and all other sects, which it is believed is very considerably below the actual number, we had even then one Minister for every one thousand inhabitants. From this computation it will appear that the supposition is fully sustained ; at

least there were at that time not less than three thousand Ministers belonging to the three denominations of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Dutch Reformed, all of which hold fast the distinguishing doctrines of Calvinism.

Allowing the accuracy of these remarks, what could have been Mr. Beecher's design in sounding the note of alarm on such a high key? Did he not mean to insinuate among his brethren of New-England, to whom the address was especially directed, that all other Ministers must be superseded, as not being qualified to impart religious instruction? It is not intended to impeach the motives of the author of this Address. Such is the power of prejudice, that he might have persuaded himself that the salvation of the nation depended upon a well-organized Calvinistic ministry, marching forward in firm phalanx against Arminians, and all others whom they might consider to be heterodox in their religious opinions. Allowing this to have been the case, the means resorted to on this occasion were highly proper. But if any choose to say that this was not the belief of Mr. Beecher and his associates, then they must allow that the assumptions contained in their Address were entirely unwarranted by facts,—that a false and highly-exaggerated description was given of the moral and spiritual destitution of our country.

"To produce such a combination and such

efforts, the wretched state of our country must be made known. The information contained in this Address may with propriety, it is believed, be communicated on the Sabbaths to all our worshipping assemblies ; and the investigation commenced in it with propriety be continued, until a regular and minute account can be given of the religious state of our land. The newspaper, the tract, and magazines must disclose to our slumbering countrymen their danger. The press must groan in the communication of our wretchedness ; and from every pulpit in the land the trumpet must sound long and loud. The nation must be awaked to save itself by its own energies, or we are undone !”

Such was the language of the Address. Such were the mighty efforts to be made to annihilate the influence of all the Ministers in the land, but such as should be marshalled under the Geneva standard, and answer to the watchword taught in the theological school under the charge of this charitable Society. Is it therefore any wonder that other denominations took the alarm ?

Among those whose zeal was kindled on this occasion, Mr. Garrettson showed himself in the foremost ranks. Excepting the Bishops of our Church, perhaps no man living was better qualified from his personal observation to make a true estimate of the religious state of the country. For more than forty years he had travelled in

various parts of the United States, and preached the everlasting Gospel with a rare success. Believing that Mr. Beecher's representations were calculated to make an erroneous impression on the public mind; that he unjustly depreciated the talent, the piety, and usefulness of Ministers of other denominations; and that his remarks tended to promote a spirit of sectarian zeal incompatible with those liberal views and feelings inculcated in the Gospel of Jesus, Mr. Garrettson addressed himself directly to Mr. Beecher on these subjects, in a printed letter.

He commences by telling Mr. Beecher, that he had "been endeavouring to promote the Redeemer's kingdom through various parts of this continent for more than forty years;" and that during that time he had witnessed the displays of the convincing and regenerating power of God from one end of the country to the other. But it "appears to me," says he, "that you and your associates have given a very unfair and uncharitable representation of the religious state of our nation; whether designedly or for want of better information, I leave for your readers to determine."

The remainder of the first part of the letter is devoted to the refutation of what were considered to be Mr. Beecher's injurious imputations of other Ministers; but the author confines himself principally to the vindication of his own brethren of

the Methodist ministry, leaving it to others to answer for themselves. The following paragraph will show how adroitly and successfully Mr. Garrettson meets his antagonist in one item of his calculations :—

“ You have placed your church in Connecticut on the highest scale among the several States in the Union. You have given a short history of it, and have, in your way, prostrated the southern part of our country. Probably you are a native of Connecticut ; I was born in Maryland : and as you have, among other southern States, undertaken to degrade the religious character of the people of this State, I am willing to compare them with those of your State. I am well acquainted with almost every part of both ; and as you have fixed your eye on the Congregational Church in Connecticut, I shall fix mine on the Methodist Episcopal Church in Maryland.

“ You say that you have upwards of two hundred congregations, averaging fifty members each, making about ten thousand church members. I have looked over our church records, and find that we have in Maryland more than twenty-five thousand church members, who have the pure word of God preached, and the sacraments duly administered.”

In addition to its being the professed object of this Address to awaken the slumbering energies of this nation to the religious state of the people,

it was believed by many, and indeed I believe by most who read the Address, that it had a political object to accomplish.

Whether Mr. Beecher really designed to produce a political revolution, by effecting a change in the national constitution, or merely to produce such entire uniformity of views and feelings, and concentration of action, as would enable those who should be under the influence of these views and feelings to control the national elections and councils, we pretend not to determine. It is, however, manifest, I think, to all dispassionate minds, that could he place one Minister of his own order over every one thousand of the inhabitants of these States, (and his calculations went to that object ; for by including Ministers of all other orders, there was more than that proportion even then,) they might exert a most powerful influence on the national legislature. At any rate, many serious people fully believed this was one object of the Address. That this was the opinion of Mr. Garrettson is evident from the following sentence : — “The glimmering light beaming through your performance leads us to suppose that as you are the privileged order in the eastern States, so you wish to be through the whole Union.” Whatever may be thought of the merits of this controversy, such was the general burst of indignation manifested from almost all quarters against the assumptions of the Address, the evident proscrip-

tions it uttered against other denominations of Christians, that the friends of Mr. Beecher, it is said, called in and destroyed the Address. It was, however, reprinted by those who were inimical to its principles, thinking that probably the most effectual way to prevent them from being carried into effect was to have them generally understood.

Mr. Garrettson finishes his strictures in the following words :—“ I hope in future that you and your associates will be more wise and pious. You will then be less self-confident, and will find it easier to exercise Christian charity toward those who do not think in every particular as you do. I have during my ministry laboured for peace, and I desire, as far as it is admissible, to have a charitable feeling for all. It was with a degree of reluctance that I undertook to write upon this occasion ; but a sense of duty overruled my inclination. I desire neither the honours, riches, nor pleasures of the world, but only to be a follower of the Lord Jesus, whom I have loved from an early part of my life. Indeed, for more than fifty years I have studied the holy Scriptures with pleasure.”

In the year 1815, Mr. Garrettson published a sermon which he had preached in John-street church, New-York, for the benefit of the Methodist Charity School. This school has been in existence for more than forty years. It is de-

signed for the special benefit of the poor children under the care of our Church, orphans and others, and is supported by the voluntary contributions of the community. For this purpose a sermon is preached annually in each church in the city, and a collection made for the benefit of the school, at which time the children are present.

After stating the objects of the institution, the nature of true charity, and the arguments by which the duty is enforced, Mr. Garrettson says, "I have brought forward these strong testimonials, my beloved friends, to strengthen and animate your faith in this glorious work. Call to your remembrance the prayers and alms of Cornelius, which ascended to heaven as a sweet memorial before the Lord. You now have it in your power to bring blessings on yourselves, and to entail them on your posterity to the latest generation."—"You see these tender lambs rising from their seats to express their gratitude for what their kind benefactors have done for them, and to implore farther aid."—"You see their little hands stretched out, while their eyes are fixed on you, as their fostering fathers and mothers, and to all who are willing to reach to them a friendly hand."—"Brethren, if you want barren souls and slender fortunes, give sparingly to the poor; but if you want to be rich in grace, and your ability to do good to be increased, then give liberally, accordingly as God has bestowed upon you."

In this way did Mr. Garrettson plead in behalf of poor children : and through his and the influence of others who have from time to time lent their aid to the support of this benevolent institution, it has gladdened the heart of many a widowed mother and many a helpless orphan.

At the Conference of 1817, which was held in Middlebury, Vermont, Mr. Garrettson was returned as a Supernumerary. This appointment by no means pleased him, as he fully believed himself competent to do effective service. The appointment, however, was made by the Conference with a view to his accommodation, that he might be at liberty to labour when and where he might think he would be most useful ; and the assurance of this respectful and friendly feeling gave him satisfaction.

It is manifest that his growing infirmities made it somewhat difficult for him to travel very extensively. Blessed with a pious and agreeable family, possessing every thing calculated to make retirement or domestic life desirable and happy, Mr. Garrettson had every inducement which an indulgent Providence could afford to remain at home. Yet in the midst of all these enjoyments, he sighed for another sort of repose,—for that repose which resulted from a consciousness of having done his best to bring sinners into the fold of Christ. “ My mind,” says he, “ is after precious souls.”

To gratify this prevailing desire of his heart, after remaining for a few weeks in the circle of domestic and social enjoyment at his mansion in Rhinebeck, and preaching as occasion offered in the chapel, in company with Mrs. Garrettson and his daughter he set off on a tour to the north, "hoping," says he, "I might do some little good to the churches." Leaving Mrs. Garrettson at Kinderhook, at the house of his friend, Judge Van Ness, whose pious consort formed an agreeable associate for Mrs. Garrettson, his daughter accompanied him to Schenectady. They stayed with Dr. Nott, the President of Union College. "This institution," says Mr. Garrettson, "is blessed with a worthy President and Professors, and will, I trust, be a blessing to society, and give much pleasure to its patrons." Here the Methodists, though few in number, and far from being generally wealthy, had recently, by great exertion, built a convenient house of worship, in which Mr. Garrettson preached with lively satisfaction. From thence they returned to Troy, and put up at the house of the Hon. George Tibbetts, whose hospitable mansion is delightfully situated on the side of a sloping hill ascending from the eastern part of the city, denominated Mount Ida. On the Sabbath, Mr. Garrettson preached in the Methodist church in this city, morning, afternoon, and evening, to an attentive congregation; and "truly," says he, "it was a good day." He re-

marks, that when he first visited this place about thirty years before, there were only a few scattered houses, and no Methodist society ; but that now he was rejoiced to find a flourishing little city, in which were four houses of worship, and not less than three hundred members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. What seemed to add to his religious enjoyment, was the catholic and friendly spirit manifested by the several religious denominations towards each other. On the 30th of June they all returned in safety, blessing and praising God, to their peaceful home.

After his return he makes the following reflections, which perhaps some whom they might concern may read to their benefit :—“ The great ones have set themselves against the work of reformation. I have laboured to do them good ; but all my efforts seem like water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up. They do not openly oppose : if they did, perhaps I might have more hope. If I would let them alone, they doubtless would bear with me ; but how can I, as a messenger of God, let them sleep quietly over the pit of destruction ? ”

The most part of the summer months of this year he spent about home, preaching only on the Sabbaths, except a tour through some parts of Connecticut, and some visits to New-York, Poughkeepsie, and a few other places in the State. During this time he says, “ I have had

sweet seasons in reading, writing, and family devotion ; I feel that God is good, and I will praise him." He observes : " From the 20th of June to the 9th of December, I have travelled about one thousand miles, and preached whenever and wherever I could find an opening."

Under date of December 9th, 1817, he says, " Being pressed in spirit, though a great cross for me to leave my wife and daughter, I entered into an examination in regard to my motives in leaving home,—whether duty called me in my sixty-sixth year to leave a quiet, plentiful habitation, and a most agreeable family, to encounter the cold and storms of winter, at my own expense ; but having made up my mind, a little before sunset I bade adieu to my family, went on board the steam-boat, and by sunrise next morning found myself in the city of New-York, one hundred miles on my journey southward." Staying only one night in the city, the next day by steam and stage he went to Trenton, where he spent the Sabbath very agreeably, preaching to crowded congregations. From thence he passed on to Burlington, where he preached to a very full house, and lodged with his old friend, Mr. Sterling. Of him Mr. Garretson observes : " He is a very old man, confined to his bed, appears innocent and happy, and has been a great support to the cause of Methodism in this place." On Tuesday he rode to Philadelphia, and put up at Mr.

Lemuel Green's, a located Minister, who had travelled and preached until he was worn down, but whose Christian hospitality invited the servants of God under his peaceful roof. He remained in this city preaching to large and attentive audiences in the several churches, visited many of his old friends, with whom he enjoyed sweet fellowship, until the 6th of January, 1818, when he took the stage for Wilmington, and on the following evening preached to the people with much satisfaction. He passed thence to Abington, where he spent the Sabbath, preached three times to the people, and then went on to his native place. Thursday, 15th, he says, "I preached within a mile of the spot where I was born : they were chiefly young people and distant relations. They seem," says he, "to be almost an entirely new race of people, there being few in the congregation whom I could recognise as my former acquaintance. I fear," he continues, "that my native county makes but little improvement ; and that too much dissipation prevails among the young people especially, for their own good either in temporal or spiritual enjoyments. Though the society at Boosbyhill was not as large as it was forty-five years since, I was comforted under the reflection that it had been a nursery from which many plants had been taken, some to heaven, and others transplanted to some of the new settlements, where they have grown into stately trees

of righteousness. Here they have established themselves, and been the means of good to the souls of others. Thus the work spreads." Here he was cheered with an account of an aged couple, Mr. Herbert and his wife, the firstfruits of Methodism in this place: the woman had recently departed to glory in her ninetieth year, and the man still lived in the fear of God in the ninety-fourth year of his age. Here also he preached in what was called the "Bush church," the second Methodist church which was built on the continent of America, and which had been standing nearly fifty years. Taking an occasion from the decayed state of the church, and the reflection that so many of the old members had gone to their reward, and also fearing that the rising generation were not so zealous for God as they should be, he cried aloud from these words, "Who will rise up, and rebuild the temple?" After which, assisted by Mr. Toy, an aged Minister, he administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper to about sixty communicants, with whom he had a solemn and profitable time.

Having finished his labours in these parts, he went thence to the city of Baltimore, where he was much refreshed to find a glorious work of religion going forward. With all the vigour of youth he entered into this work, catching, and enkindling in the hearts of others, the fire of divine love. He preached in the several churches

in the city, morning, afternoon, and evening; attended prayer-meetings and love-feasts; visited from house to house; and in the midst of all enjoyed great peace of mind and health of body. Though he could not approve of all the exercises which were tolerated, thinking that in some things extravagancies might have been beneficially checked, yet he rejoiced greatly at witnessing such manifest displays of the awakening and regenerating power of divine grace. After remaining in this city about two weeks, during which time he preached no less than fourteen sermons, he took his departure for the north, passed through Abington, Philadelphia, Trenton, and New-York, in all which places he stopped long enough to "scatter some of the good seed of the kingdom," and in the latter part of March, after an absence of about four months, he once more saluted his beloved family in peace and health.

CHAPTER XVII.

AFTER remaining at home a short time, on his return from the Conference of 1819, Mr. Garrettson set off on a tour for the north. He visited Kinderhook, attended a camp-meeting at Nis-

kayuna, a Quarterly Meeting at Troy, and Albany, and likewise at a Quarterly Meeting near Spencertown, and then returned to his beloved family at Rhinebeck. "During this tour," he says, "of about two weeks, I had great sweetness in preaching the word, which I did once or more at every place I visited. I am now," he adds, "officiating in my little congregation at Rhinebeck. Here I am pleasantly situated, an agreeable family with every thing necessary to make life desirable. This makes it the greater cross for me to leave home."

On August 18th, having engaged a young man to accompany him, he took his departure for an eastern tour. He first, however, passed down through Poughkeepsie, over the highlands to Peekskill, to Tarrytown, in all which places he stopped and preached, and to the White-Plains, where he preached on Sabbath morning, and in the afternoon at New-Rochelle. "The Gospel has had a glorious spread in this part of the country," he remarks: "within eight miles of the place where I now am, we can count six or seven Methodist churches, where the word and ordinances of God are administered, and where many persons of undoubted piety assemble for the worship of God." On Monday he rode into the city of New-York, and put up with his old friend, Mr. George Suckley.

The Saturday following he left the city on his

way eastward. He passed on through Rye, Stamford, Fairfield, Stratford, New-Haven, to Middletown, where he spent the Sabbath, preaching to a full house of attentive hearers, morning, afternoon, and evening ; the last sermon being on the certainty of the resurrection of the body. Thence he passed on to Hebron, where he was happy to find a revival of religion, and to be comfortably situated in the pious family of Mr. Burroughs. On Tuesday he went to New-London, where he enjoyed much of the divine presence in secret devotion in the house of God.* This was his first visit to this place. He remained here until Thursday, preaching to a crowded house every evening. On Wednesday evening he gave information that as he expected to depart next day, he would preach at sunrise on the doctrine of Christian perfection. Accordingly he says, "I arose about four o'clock in the morning, and, after spending more than an hour in retirement, I repaired to the church at the hour appointed, and preached to about two hundred attentive hearers. I enjoyed a solemn, sweet season, while endeavouring to water the souls of God's people."

After these solemn exercises were over, he journeyed about four miles, to Mr. Miller's,

* It was a common practice with Mr. Garrettson, whenever he first visited a place where there was a church, to repair thither at the first opportunity for private prayer.

whose daughters and one son had recently experienced a change of heart, during a revival in New-London and its vicinity. The father, seventy-eight years of age, though friendly, made no profession of religion. "With him," says Mr. Garretson, "I conversed on the subject of religion, congratulated him on the happy change wrought in his children, and urged him to seek the same blessing. I endeavoured to obviate the common objection he made, that he could not change his own heart, by remarking that although Jesus Christ had merited everything for us by his passion and death, yet we may not expect to be saved unless we seek by repentance, prayer, and faith. After spending several hours with this kind family, and praying with them, we took our departure, and rode ten miles to Norwich, and preached in the church, which was nearly filled. After service a pious woman asked me if any one had requested me to explain the Lord's prayer. I answered in the negative. She then informed me that she had prayed to God that I might be led to make that prayer the subject of my discourse. I answered, that when I went into the pulpit, as well as before, it lay with much weight on my mind, so much so that I durst not refuse taking it as the foundation of my sermon. She received it as an answer to prayer. She had been particularly exercised on the petition, 'Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.'" While

in this place the stationed Preacher gave him a reviving account of the spread of God's work in the conversion of souls, which had commenced at camp-meetings. It had extended gloriously through several of the neighbouring towns, and some hundreds had been brought to the knowledge of the truth.

Having finished his work here, he passed into the State of Rhode-Island, and was much annoyed in one place where he preached, with the Socinians. With the Socinian doctrine Mr. Garrettson held no fellowship. Perhaps his zeal never showed itself more intensely on any subject than when he came in contact with a system that, to support itself, the Divinity of Christ must be called in question. His tract on this subject evinces the deep interest he felt in the support of this cardinal doctrine of Christianity. He could not, therefore, but behold with sorrow and indignation the ravages which the Socinian scheme was making among the churches in New-England, particularly in the metropolis of Massachusetts, as well as in some parts of Rhode-Island.

After preaching with much satisfaction in Providence, both in the Methodist church, and, by request, in the one occupied by Mr. Wilson, a pious Presbyterian Clergyman, Mr. Garrettson rode forward to Bristol, where he preached to a large congregation on the doctrine of Christian perfection, a favourite theme with him. Here

he found a large society of pious members, whose devout behaviour and delightful singing pleased him much. Of the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, residing in this place, Mr. Garrettson speaks in terms of high commendation, as a man deeply devoted to the interests of Christ, and expresses an ardent hope that he with his Clergy, and the Methodist Preachers, between whom there appears no difference in their doctrinal views, will be able to check the progress of the Socinian heresy, and stem the tide of Hopkinsian refinements on the liberty of the human will, or their metaphysical speculations concerning a moral inability and natural ability. From Bristol he went to Warren, and preached on, "Now the just shall live by faith; but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him." Among others, the Unitarian Minister made one of his hearers.

He then passed on to Easton, and thence to Dorchester, and thence through Boston, in company with the Rev. Elijah Hedding and wife, to Lynn, where he preached on a short notice to a large congregation, on, "Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe."

Mr. Garrettson gives the following account of the rise and progress of the Methodist church in the town of Dorchester. He says, "I lodged with Mr. Otheman, a pious, wealthy gentleman from France, who a few years since removed

from Boston to this place. Some time previously to his leaving Boston, he had embraced religion, and had become a member of our Church. After removing to Dorchester, he invited preaching at his house. Though but few attended at first, and much opposition was excited, so much so that the thoughtless multitude frequently stoned the house, the Lord soon began to work on the hearts of the people, and in a short time a considerable society was established. Soon after, more room being wanted, Mr. Otheman built a handsome church at his own expense. It was in this house that I preached."

From Lynn, Mr Garrettson went to Cambridge, where he lodged with his old friend, Mr. Black, under whose hospitable roof, and in the society of whose pious family, he felt himself much at home. The Sunday following he preached three sermons in the city of Boston to very large congregations. From thence he journeyed through the several towns, in most of which he officiated, to Hartford, where he preached with great freedom. Sunday he preached in Goshen (Connecticut) in the morning, and in the afternoon in Cornwall; and on the Tuesday following he was permitted once more to embrace his family in health and peace. "In this tour," says he, "I was absent six weeks, travelled six hundred miles, and preached about sixty sermons. I thank God for his presence, which was with me

every day. I do not wish to be employed in a better work."

We have already seen, that notwithstanding Mr. Garrettson enjoyed at home everything that could make domestic life agreeable,—that though age and its attendant infirmities might plead a reasonable excuse for his remaining in such a pleasant retreat, free from the cares and fatigues of travelling,—yet the ardour of his soul would prompt him to break through all these restraints, and brave the inclemency of seasons, contemning equally the indulgences of this life and the peltings of the storms, when they stood in the way of his duty to God and man.

Accordingly, in the latter part of December, in the year 1820, we find him bidding adieu to his family again, for another tour to the south. It is thought not necessary to give a detailed account of this journey. The following reflections, however, which he wrote down in Philadelphia, under date of January 21st, will be read with satisfaction. It seems that before he left New-York, walking out one evening, he slipped down in the street, and severely bruised his leg. Notwithstanding he was able to pursue his journey to Philadelphia: when he arrived there, his leg was so much swollen that he was obliged to keep his room, and to put himself under the care of a Physician. To Dr. Sargeant he expresses much gratitude for his kind attentions. While con-

fined here, unable for active service, he thus writes :—

“ All is right, being in the order of God. He knows what is best for his creatures. For three Sabbaths I have been deprived of the privilege of the sanctuary ; but while thus solitary, I have been contemplating on the wonders of redeeming love, and the various beauties of the sacred Scriptures. O redemption ! How deep ! How unsearchable the Deity ! Eternally existing in three hypostases, yet one glorious, incomprehensible Deity, co-equal, consubstantial, and co-eternal !

“ During the week past I have had a great travail of soul. My exercises were various, but the most weighty concerned myself. I saw, indeed, in God infinite perfection ; but in myself merely I am but a fallen speck of the creation. I inquired what motive could have led me at this period of my life, and at this inclement season of the year, to leave my quiet home. Was it for money ? No. Was it for ease or honour ? No. Was it because I thought myself a great Preacher ? No. I was, as I believed, called of God, forty-six years ago, to be a Minister of Jesus Christ ; and the blessed God has frequently suggested to me that he had called me for life, or as long as I should be able to work in his vineyard. I did, some years since, plead with the Lord that I was growing old and infirm, and begged that I might be permitted to stay at home, and labour there occa-

sionally, as I was able. The blessed God restored to me my hearing almost as perfectly as ever, strengthened my intellect, renewed me in soul and body, and told me I must go and do his work. To be sure, it is a great cross for me to leave one of the most agreeable families with which a man can be blessed ; but for Christ's sake I can stagger under even this cross, and cheerfully cast in my mite to promote the interests of his kingdom."

As a proof of the high estimation in which his labours were held by the citizens of Philadelphia, we may remark, that, unknown to him, the official members appointed a Committee to wait on him, and request his longer continuance with them. To which he replied, "I receive the voice of the church as the voice of God to me, and therefore agree to remain a few weeks longer."

Here is the true secret whence originated his restlessness of spirit whenever he had been long at home. He felt that the vows of his God were upon him, and that he must perform them. Often when I have been favoured with a visit to his friendly and peaceful mansion, have I witnessed, even in the midst of every thing calculated to make life desirable, the anxiety of his mind to be in the field, labouring for his Lord and Master ; and I verily believe that he enjoyed himself far better in an humble cottage on coarse fare, when thus employed in the Lord's vineyard, especially

if he could have one or two of his brethren in the ministry with him, whom he always loved with the tenderest affection, than he otherwise could, surrounded with all that this world can afford. This work was the aliment of his soul, it being "his meat and his drink to do his Master's will," as a public servant of the Church.

After recovering in some measure from his lameness, and preaching several times in the different churches in the city of Philadelphia, he went thence to Baltimore, to the eastern shore of Maryland, &c., everywhere being received as a father in the Gospel, preaching to overflowing congregations, until April 26th, 1821, when he returned to the city of New-York, where he spent a day or two, and then arrived once more at Rhinebeck, after an absence of a little more than four months. On finding himself again in his domestic circle, he says, "O Lord, how shall I praise thee for thy lovingkindness to me, thy poor, unworthy servant!"

It seems that during his absence there had commenced a gracious revival of religion in Rhinebeck. This was most cheering news to him. "Thank God," says he, "a great change has taken place here within five or six weeks. About fifty have joined the Church, and the greater proportion of them profess experimental religion, most of whom are young people. Our little church is crowded with attentive hearers;

and if the work continues, we must enlarge it. The blessed God began and carried on this work in his own way ; and the stationed Preacher, and several of the most gifted members in prayer and exhortation, were engaged as workers together with God. Frequently the meetings continued until twelve o'clock at night, and sometimes until two o'clock in the morning. I have met with them almost every night in the week, and have no doubt of the genuineness of the work."

The harmony of those who were the subjects of this work was somewhat disturbed by the introduction of a spirit of proselytism to the peculiar sentiments of the Anabaptists. This led Mr. Garrettson once more into the field of controversy ; and in a sermon he undertook a defence of infant baptism, in order to prevent the young converts from being drawn aside by the efforts of those who insisted on adult baptism by immersion as the only Gospel mode. This had the desired effect, and the good work continued to prosper.

On Monday he took the steam-boat, for Troy, in order to attend the Conference. " We had," says Mr. Garrettson, " an agreeable time through the whole session, with the exception of feeling much sorrow for two members whom we were obliged to expel. I fear poor J. C. is gone for ever. O how awful ! A professed labourer in our Lord's vineyard for more than twenty years,

finally disgraced by his own evil conduct, and cast off. Thus the cause of Christ suffers."

I do not find any particular account in the papers left by Mr. Garrettson of his exercises and travels for the years 1822 and 1823. It is, however, well known that he held on his way, in the same undeviating course of exemplary piety, and, as far as his growing infirmities would permit, in the active services of the sanctuary.

It was during this interval that he was very active in building a house of worship at Rhinebeck. Mr. Garrettson heartily engaged in the work, contributing largely himself, and ceased not until it was accomplished. Such a work was not only needed, but very befitting the exertions of one who expected, at no distant period, to be an inhabitant of that "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

Having been elected a delegate to the General Conference to be held in the city of Baltimore in the year 1824, in company with Mrs. Garrettson and his daughter he left home in the month of March ; came to the city of New-York, where he remained about three weeks, labouring in the city and in Brooklyn ; and then, April 1st, in company with Mr. Reece and some others, he took his departure for Philadelphia.

On Tuesday, April 20th, at the request of his nephew, Captain Norris, who came for the purpose of taking him in his carriage, Mr. Garrettson

left Baltimore to visit once more his native place. As this was his last visit to that part of the country, I shall present his own account of it chiefly in his own words. "We rode," says he, "about twenty miles to Captain Norris's sister's, near Bellair. I find a great vacancy in this house. When I was here a few years since, the mother and her daughter Clarissa, two lovely females, received me with smiles;—but where are they now? First the sister, and then the mother, took their flight to glory, leaving four brothers and three sisters to mourn their loss. Mrs. Norris and her daughter Clarissa were both blessed women, and I cannot doubt but that they have gone safe home.

"Friday, 23d. We set off—my nephew kindly tendering his services to conduct me wherever I wished to go—to traverse that part of the country called Bush-river Neck, my native place. I saw many places which I used to frequent in the days of my boyhood, and among others the old church in which I was baptized. By this means many circumstances were brought to my recollection which transpired more than sixty years since. I was glad to find that the people had recently repaired the old church, and that a good fence was kept around the graves of our ancestors. They have, however, no settled Minister in what is called the Old Parish; neither do they want one; for the Methodists have societies and houses of worship in every direction. We lodged at Mr.

Ruthen Garrettson's, who has one of the richest farms in the Neck. His mother was my mother's sister, and my father was his father's brother, and he married my eldest sister's daughter. They both have a respect for religion, and I hope they will yet be saved.

"On the Lord's day morning I preached with much satisfaction in the Abingdon church; and then rode six miles, and preached in a neat church lately built in the forest under the direction of old Mr. Webster, who at this time was dangerously ill. I was sent for to visit him, and found him nigh unto death, joyfully waiting until his time should come. He was among the first who embraced religion when the Methodist Preachers made their entrance into this part of the country about fifty-six years ago. He is now about eighty-five years of age, and has been a Preacher more than forty years. He has a large family of children and grandchildren settled around him, while he, like a ripe shock of corn, is waiting to be taken to the garner of rest. I had sweet fellowship with him. A few days after I left him, he took his departure. I bless God for this opportunity of conversing with him."

After spending a day or two longer in visiting his friends, he returned, on the 27th of April, to Baltimore, the seat of the General Conference.

"May 1st, 1824," says Mr. Garrettson, "our Conference opened at eight o'clock, A.M. I am,

and I hope I always shall be, an old-fashioned Methodist ; and, therefore, was not at all pleased that the Conference should have been detained so long in fixing rules for the government of its proceedings. So did not the Apostles, Elders, and brethren, who assembled at the first council at Jerusalem ; but being full of faith and the Holy Ghost, they acted in the utmost harmony one with another." This extract is introduced not as a censure on the General Conference for adopting by-laws for the government of their deliberations, but to show the predilection of Mr. Garretson for primitive simplicity and order.

At our General Conference in 1820 it was resolved to open a more direct intercourse with our brethren in England by an interchange of delegates from one country to the other.* Accordingly in that year, the Rev. John Emory was sent by the Bishops as our Representative to the British Conference, who now sent the Rev. Richard Reece as their Representative to their brethren in America.

After attending the New-York Conference, June 1st, 1824, in peace and safety he returned once more to "bless his household." He did not, however, remain long in his beloved retire-

* This mutual intercourse had been kept up by the visits of Dr. Coke until the year 1804, since which time until the present it had been suspended, though the Conferences continued an official correspondence with each other.

ment. In company with Mrs. Garrettson and his daughter he set off on a tour to the north-west. After preaching in Schenectady on Sabbath, July 4th, 1824, he took a canal-boat on Monday for Utica ; where he arrived on Tuesday, and in the evening of Wednesday preached to a crowded house, on a favourite subject, from the words of our Saviour to Martha, " But one thing is needful." Here he met Bishops George and Hedding, with whom he took sweet counsel. He makes the following reflections on the changes and improvements in this part of the country :—

" What an astonishing alteration in this country ! More than thirty years since, when I was travelling through these parts, preaching and forming Circuits, I could find here and there only a log-hut to screen me from the blasts of winter, or the scorchings of a summer's sun. But now the country is thickly populated, farms highly cultivated, villages multiplied, and churches erected in every direction, splendid coaches rolling through the streets, &c., &c. I fear, indeed, the people in general think more of the world than they do of their souls. I awfully fear for the inhabitants of this fertile country."

After remaining in Utica eight days, " bearing," as he says, " a faithful testimony against the prevailing vices of the place," and likewise recording his sense of the kindness of his friends,

he returned to Schenectady ; where "our good friends at the college," says he, "were very attentive, doing every thing in their power to make us comfortable."

After observing that in Utica and some other places, the Methodists seem to be on the back-ground, he says, "What is the cause ? O Lord, heal our backslidings, and bring us to our former standing. Some men learn to preach as they would learn any other profession, get a scanty support, and I fear get but few, if any, souls for their hire. The good old plan was to be thrust out with the awful words pressing on the soul, 'Woe is me, if I preach not the Gospel !' In all such there is an ardent desire for holiness, a burning zeal for the salvation of perishing sinners, and by their means precious souls are gathered into the fold of Christ."

After returning and remaining a few days at home, he took the steam-boat for New-York. He here bears a pointed testimony against the immorality recently introduced by an opposition line of steam-boats, in starting on the Lord's day. "I fear," says he, "our sins will bring down the judgments of God upon us." Sunday, the 25th, he observes, "I preached and had a precious sacramental season in Allen-street church, and in the evening the word was refreshing in the church at Greenwich.

"My blessed God has been good to me for

many years; for which I will praise him. I am now bending over eternity, and must soon go the way of all the earth. Not being able to walk about much, I am retired in the hospitable family of Mr. Suckley, and have a good time for self-examination, meditation, and prayer. I am under many and the strongest obligations to my heavenly Father, and am fully sensible that I have nothing in myself to recommend me to his favour. Mercy through the merits of Jesus Christ is my only plea. The aged as well as the young must continually say,—

‘ Every moment, Lord, I need
The merit of thy death.’”

In several places he has left upon record sentiments similar to the above. It would appear, therefore, that he was endeavouring to weigh himself in the balance, to cast up his accounts, that he might be ready, when called, to render them up “with joy, and not with grief.” He continued labouring in the several churches in the city and in Brooklyn until August 10th, when he set off to attend a camp-meeting on Long-Island. “I endeavour,” says he, “in every sermon I preach, to deliver it as if it were my last. I often think of my dear old friend, Bishop Asbury, who spent the last shred of his valuable life in the service of his great Master. I wish to do good, to be greatly taken up in my blessed

Master's work, that my last may be my best days,
O wash me, Lord ! and make me clean."

After attending the camp-meeting, with which he seemed much pleased, because he thought good was done, he returned to the city, where he spent a few days in visiting and preaching. On Monday he left the city for Rhinebeck. "This week," says he, under date of August 22d, "I have spent with my family, and have been frequently in deep exercise of mind. I cannot be fully satisfied, unless employed in the work of the blessed God. On this day, Sabbath, I have preached in the Mission chapel, morning, afternoon, and evening, with much liberty. May the blessed work revive in Rhinebeck!"

A few days after he remarks : " I have been several weeks about home, and sometimes have preached two or three times on the Lord's day. I am sensible that to be happy we must be rationally employed, and not take anxious thoughts for the morrow. The maxim of our divine Saviour is founded in the fitness of things, 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' I have now in my retirement time for reflection and self-examination ; and although, blessed be God ! I have not designedly erred, yet in many things I discover my imperfections. Sometimes I suffer much depression of spirits, when I should rejoice and praise God, who has surrounded me with so many mercies. Jesus is my friend, and

I will praise him. My dear Mrs. Garrettson is always ready, when a gloom overspreads my mind, to administer a word of comfort; and the affectionate and cheerful conversation of my lovely daughter is enough to awaken sensibility in the heart of a hermit. ‘Why art thou cast down, O my soul?’ Nearly half a century since I was happy in the perfect love of God, and my labours were abundant in his service. The blessed God has favoured me with many days, and with a good constitution; but I fear I have come short in doing as much in his cause as I might have done. I have a glorious Advocate; otherwise I must sink. Glory to his name! I will praise him, and yet strive what I can do to promote his cause. Unworthy as I feel myself, I would not part with my hope of glory for a million of worlds.” Such were the private meditations of this man of God. Such deep self-abasement, accompanied with an unwavering confidence in the infinite merits of the Lord Jesus, indicated a thorough acquaintance with his own heart, and a scriptural view of the divine plan of redemption and salvation.

On the 21st of September, accompanied by Mrs. Garrettson and his daughter, he paid a visit to some old friends in Westchester county. Among others with whom they participated in a friendly interchange of thought and conversation, was the late Governor Jay and his family. He

perseverance. The time may come when the hearts of the people even in this place may yield to the touches of God's Spirit.*

" March 8th, 1825," he observes, " a messenger brought us the tidings that Mr. Sands had taken his departure from this world of sorrow at about three o'clock this morning. On the Sunday following, March 13th, I preached his funeral sermon to a large congregation, on the words of the Psalmist, ' Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but out of them all the Lord delivereth him.'

" Mr. Sands was among the first who joined the Methodist society in Rhinebeck. He was the second person who invited me to preach at his house in this place. I found him a kind, benevolent friend; and it was not long after I came to the place that he was brought into Gospel liberty, and was appointed the Leader of the class. He discharged the duties of this office as long as he was able. Many of our Preachers who have lived in Rhinebeck will long remember his cheerful bounties. He was a man of an upright character and conduct, and of great bene-

* This conjecture has been since realized in the village of Kingston. A very considerable revival has been witnessed, and a number of souls have been brought to the knowledge of the truth. How much of the good seed which has thus sprung up, was sown by Mr. Garretson, who can tell? Eternity will unfold it!

volence, against whom nothing could be said, not even by the tongue of envy. I give the following anecdote as a proof. When Mr. Jay, of whom I have before spoken, was Governor of the State, party politics ran high between what were then called 'Federalists' and 'Republicans.' This led them to speak very freely of each other's candidates for office. At this time Mr. Sands was in nomination as a senator. I looked over the newspapers to see if any thing could be said against him. I remember a short paragraph which expressed a surprise to see good old Mr. Sands coming forward at the head of his party, and suggested that it would be much better for him to remain at home, and take care of his class. He lived a useful member of our Church about thirty-five years, and in the eighty-second year of his natural life took his departure to glory."

On Sabbath, March 20th, he says, "After the morning service I was called upon to attend the funeral of Mr. C—— S——, a useful citizen, and on whom I had often endeavoured to impress the nature and necessity of our holy religion. I felt much for him during his sickness, and was much gratified to learn there was some alteration in his mind for the better before he died.

"On Monday, by the steam-boat, we were in New-York, in about ten hours. Our old friends are dropping off one after another. Brother

Paul Hick and brother Arcularius, two of the oldest members of the Church in the city, have just gone to heaven ; and I fear brother Carpenter will not continue long.* O Lord, sanctify me wholly ; and I pray God that my soul, body, and spirit may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."

He continued in the city, preaching in the several churches, visiting the sick and his old friends, until April 5th, when he returned to Rhinebeck. On understanding that one of the Preachers was about to locate, Mr. Garretson has the following reflections :—" Did the blessed God call him to be a Minister ? If so, how has he disposed of the call ? Or did he run before he was sent ? Or has he fallen from God ? It is a very serious thing to trifle with a work of such vast importance. I awfully fear for the consequences, as I believe a call to the ministry is for life."

He was prevented from making his fifth visit to New-York for this season, by receiving information of the death of another of his valued friends, Mrs. Suckley of New-York, and who, according to her wishes made known previously to her death, was to be buried in Rhinebeck. Tuesday, November 28th, he observes : " This was a solemn day. We were waiting to receive the remains of our deceased friend and her

* He did not, but died soon after in great peace.

mourning family. About ten o'clock in the evening they arrived, accompanied by two of the Preachers from the city, and several other persons. Our habitation is highly honoured."

Mr. Garrettson makes the following remarks respecting Mrs. Suckley :—" She was awakened and brought into Gospel liberty when in the bloom of youth, soon after the introduction of Methodism into Rhinebeck. She was sweetly drawn by the cords of divine love, which grace seemed always to govern her heart. She appeared, indeed, to be one of those who think no evil. She possessed the tenderest sensibilities of our nature, and these improved by education and grace. Her deeds of charity were always performed in such a private manner, that some might think that she was not liberal ; but she was a friend to the poor. She was a woman of much prayer, and her communion with God the Father through our Lord Jesus Christ was intimate and constant. Her modest, humble, and unassuming deportment shielded her from the censures of the invidious. As a wife and mother, she was affectionate and tender. Many are the prayers which she has lodged in the bosom of God for her children.

" In her last sickness she remarked, ' God has not shown me his will distinctly, whether I am to live or die ; but in his good time I shall know. I have much to make life desirable,'—having

reference to her children,—‘ but I cannot form one petition for life, knowing it will be best for me to go ! ’ Her sufferings were great, but her peace flowed like a river. She has left a husband, two sons, and three daughters, to mourn their loss. O that they may so live here as to meet her in glory ! ”

Under date of March, 1826, Mr. Garrettson remarks that he had spent most of the past winter in Rhinebeck and its vicinity, and says, “ The more I labour in the good cause, the better I feel in soul and body.” On the 12th of April, he left home for Philadelphia, and says, that in twenty-five hours he arrived safely, a distance of about two hundred miles, twenty-five of which was by land. As the Philadelphia Conference was in session at the time of his arrival, he speaks of enjoying much consolation in the society of the Preachers, as well as in dispensing the word of life. Among other meetings, he says that he attended the Anniversary of the Missionary Society of the Philadelphia Conference, and was much pleased and profited with the appropriate addresses which were delivered.

Mr. Garrettson possessed, in an eminent degree, the soul of a Missionary. He was one of the founders and active promoters of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, became a life member by his own contribution, aided its operations, and rejoiced in its prosperity

until the day of his death. One of the last acts of his life was to make a bequest of an amount annually sufficient to support a single Missionary, as he expressed it, until the millennium.

On his return to Rhinebeck, after giving thanks to God for his goodness to himself and family, he says, "I want to have very little to do with the world. I never feel so well as when employed in the vineyard of the Lord." He was, however, happily relieved from worldly care, by his nephew, an intelligent and pious young man, who had for several years past taken the charge of his venerable uncle's temporal affairs, and managed them to his entire satisfaction. Of his faithfulness in these duties and the great relief which it afforded him, Mr. Garrettson often speaks in terms of gratitude to God. This reminds me of a remark made by a particular friend of Mr. Garrettson, that whenever he meddled with temporal concerns he seemed to be out of his element, it being his calling to move in a spiritual atmosphere, and to labour to build up the church of God. In this respect his peculiar gift and predominant inclination were happily united, as every sentence in his journal abundantly shows.

At the New-York Conference, May, 1826, the Conference requested Mr. Garrettson, as he had just entered upon the fifty-first year of his ministry, to preach a semi-centennial sermon before

the Conference. Having complied with this request, a vote was passed in favour of its being published. This was afterwards done. In this sermon, Mr. Garrettson gave a short history of the rise and progress of Methodism from its commencement to that time, interspersing remarks on its general economy, its usefulness, and suggesting some hints by which he thought some of its external features might be improved. He likewise gave a history of some of the most striking parts of his own experience and labours, gave short notices of some of the primitive Methodist Preachers, and concluded by a solemn word of advice to his brethren. From this sermon several extracts have been inserted in the preceding parts of this memoir, and the principal facts therein stated are here incorporated. The following additional extracts will be read with interest :—

“ How shall we sufficiently praise God for the many, many thousands, who within the last eighty or ninety years have been brought into Gospel liberty, either directly or indirectly, by the instrumentality of John Wesley ! In looking over the Minutes of our annual Conferences, I should conjecture, that more than a thousand names which have appeared on them since mine was first placed there, no longer appear. What has become of them ? Thank God, a goodly number have worn themselves out in the good

cause, ripened, and were gathered in. There are now more than ten thousand Preachers, Travelling and Local, in the Wesleyan Connexion, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and in the islands of the seas ; and more than half a million in membership. And how many can we reasonably conjecture, have been ripened by grace, and called home, since Mr. Wesley first began to preach salvation by faith, and a direct witness of the Spirit of the forgiveness of sins ? Would you say two millions ?—or suppose one million—would not even this be a sufficient inducement to encourage us in the great work, especially when we view one soul as of more value than all the wealth and honour that this world can afford ? The little treasure which I trust I have laid up in heaven, I would not part with for the riches of a thousand such worlds as this.

“ I must step without the particular pale of my own Church, to speak of that numerous body of Christians who were marshalled under Mr. Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon. To these in their commencement Mr. Wesley bore the interesting relation of a father. We likewise view with pleasure that body of men who are called the evangelical Clergy of the national Church. We hear with joy of their preaching salvation by faith, and of their zeal in promoting Bible, Missionary, and Sunday-school Societies. When did this change take place ? Will not even prejudice

allow, that the religious excitement which has been spreading more and more, and awakening the energies of labourers in different sections of the Lord's vineyard, began through the instrumentality of the Wesleys? We see them taking the lead; and then you may observe an Ingham, a Hervey, a Whitefield, a Morgan, a Perronet, a Fletcher, a Coke, and several others, all Ministers of the established Church, making a powerful stand against the powers of darkness. We should not think it strange to find many hundreds of evangelical Ministers in that Establishment. My dear brethren, let the work spread to the ends of the earth, and let hundreds of millions be brought into Gospel light and liberty.

"Have we done no good in America but among our own people? I have heard it said, and that by those who were not very friendly to us, that we drive more to other churches than we draw to our own. Well, if in the order of God, let it be so: if they are safe housed, if they ripen, and get safe to heaven, there will be but one fold there, and one Shepherd; and though we could not perfectly harmonize on earth, there will be no discord in that sweet world of peace and joy.

"Let us, my dear brethren, take the advice of St. Paul the aged: 'Whereunto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing:' let us lay aside every

weight, and every besetment, looking to Jesus, who is the author, till he become the finisher, of our salvation. I told you that we have way-marks, and that it is dangerous to remove any of them. ‘Stand ye in the ways,’ saith the Prophet, ‘and see ; ask for the old paths, where is the good way ; and walk therein, and you shall find rest for your souls.’ The Prophet Joel saith, ‘Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe.’ Remember, the field is very extensive, and the whole human family are ripening either for heaven or hell.

“I have had my time, and must soon leave this world ; but I bless God for the great change which has taken place in many parts of Christendom within the last fifty years. The old men have been and are dropping off, and the young men will have to bear the ark ; and I hope that they will do better than their fathers have done.

“From the first planting of Christianity to its establishment under Constantine, there were great accessions to the church of Christ ; and, without doubt, millions of happy Christians and exulting martyrs went home to God, and are now rejoicing around the throne.

“From the time that Papal Rome began to persecute the church until the coming of the Protestant Reformers, an army of martyrs and professors went triumphantly to glory. In the darker ages the church was said to be in the

wilderness, and was at different periods known by various names, such as Albigenses, Waldenses, Lollards, heretics, &c., &c. The stand which Luther and his coadjutors made against the errors of the Church of Rome was rendered a great blessing to the world; and through that and the succeeding period, which may be called the Puritanic age, many great men were raised up, and many souls experienced the liberty of the Gospel; and since the Wesleys were sent on the ministerial stage of action, and awakened the Protestant world from the slumber into which it had fallen, God has been glorified by the numbers who have lived and died in his fear and favour: but there will be a time, and it is not far distant, when there shall be a more glorious and a universal gathering to the church, which, in the language of revelation, shall last a thousand years. Isaiah tells us, that ‘the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be established on the top of the mountains,’ and that ‘all nations shall flow unto it.’

“Prior to the accomplishment of the predictions of the Old and New Testaments, respecting the last great outpouring of the Spirit, there must be a shaking among the nations, and the kingdoms of the beast and of the false prophet will crumble away. We cannot say at what time the martyrs will rise, and commence their reign with Christ in heaven; but to harmonize several passages of Scripture, we are necessarily led to

believe that their resurrection will happen some time after the binding of Satan, and will continue as much longer after he is loosed. This opinion leaves room for the fulfilment of the predictions of our blessed Lord respecting the general apostasy. But perhaps the inhabitants of the earth will be ignorant of the period of its commencement, and of its ending.

"Christ saith, 'What I say unto you, I say unto all, Watch.' The trumpet will be sounded, and the dead, both small and great, will arise. Christ will come in grandeur, and the whole human family will appear at the judgment-seat; the pious of every nation and of every sect on the right, and the wicked on the left, to be judged according to the deeds done in the body. Sinners will fear when they see the Second Person in the Godhead coming in majesty and great power, to pronounce sentence upon the quick and the dead. You that deny the infinite merit of Jesus Christ, tremble! You that have set up idols in your hearts, and have rejected the Son of God, let fearfulness take hold upon you!

"I fully believe that the doctrines taught by Mr. John Wesley are scriptural, and will stand the test; but what his people will be a hundred years hence we cannot say. They may be a numerous and a learned people; but it is possible that by slow degrees they may retrograde, until they have very little of the spirit of old Method-

ism ; and this certainly will be the case, without a steady and conscientious perseverance in the good old paths. The letter is good in its place ; but we shall be, comparatively, nothing without the life and power of godliness. We must look well to our doctrines and discipline, and guard the sacred ministry. ‘ Lay hands suddenly on no man :’ look more to genuine piety, and to a real call from God, than to any literary qualification without it. Keep a pure ministry, and you will have a pure membership. The fall of the primitive church began with the Clergy ; and should we fall, our declension will begin here. It is better to have a pious, laborious, successful ministry, than to have wealth and ease without such a ministry.

“ My dear brethren, I hope better things, though I thus speak. As a people, I hope we shall have a standing among the pious through a succession of ages. Unworthy as I am, I can look back with pleasure ; and when faith gives me a glimpse of that sweet world above, I think all the little toil and sufferings that I have passed through are nothing. Eternity ! O an eternity of felicity ! Who would not bear the cross, and follow Jesus for a lot in that sweet world, where we shall dwell with the blessed Trinity, the holy angels, and the spirits of all the just made perfect through the blood of the Lamb ?

“ I bless God for what I have seen and felt ;

but I have often wept whilst looking back on my unprofitable life and on my many defects ; and I think, had I my time to live over again, I would strive more ardently to do good, and to live nearer to God. And soon, my dear brethren, I must leave you, and go the way of all flesh. I have lived long with you, and have seen a happy and prosperous half-century. I love the Methodists, and hope they will prosper. I love Christians of every sect ; and I pray that the world may be filled with the glory of God, that false doctrines may be banished from the earth, and that the pure doctrines of the Gospel may run and be glorified.

“ Before I leave you, I wanted for a moment to look into the invisible world ; but I am lost ! Could we see the angelic host, and listen to the songs of the redeemed ! could we join that blood-bought company, and converse with the Patriarchs, and Prophets, and sages of the past, what rapture ! But one glimpse of our Lord Jesus Christ would outshine them all ; for he only is worthy of all honour, and glory, and praise. We shall cast our crowns at his feet, and say, ‘ Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory.’

“ My dear brethren, let us labour faithfully in scattering the good seed ; let us do every thing in our power for the prosperity of Zion, and wait patiently for the great harvest-day, when we shall

all be gathered home, to be happy with the ever-blessed Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit : to whom be glory, now, henceforth, and for ever. Amen."

At the close of this Conference, Mr. Garrettson remarks : "Our dear brethren seem much engaged in the work ; and I can truly say that I have sweet fellowship with them, and they treat me as a father."

CHAPTER XVIII.

AT the Conference of 1826 Mr. Garrettson was continued a Conference Missionary, and he employed his time in his usual way, making occasional excursions to New-York and some other places, preaching as often as his strength would permit him. Wherever he came he was hailed as a messenger of peace, and as a father in the Gospel, both by the Preachers and people.

It was in the beginning of the winter of this year that I accompanied him to the city of Hudson, on an invitation from the brethren in that place, for the purpose of opening a new church. Having attended at Poughkeepsie for the purpose of dedicating a church recently built in that place, I went on board the steam-boat, which came along about twelve o'clock at night. I

shall never forget the tender and affectionate manner in which he received me. He was in his berth ; but hearing my voice, he addressed me by name, raised himself in his berth, affectionately squeezed my hand, expressing his gladness to see me. Indeed he always seemed revived whenever he came in company with his brethren in the ministry, whom he loved, I believe, "with a pure heart fervently." I have mentioned this circumstance merely to show how sincerely he loved his friends, as well as the readiness with which he obeyed the calls of his brethren to aid them in their work.

It was during one of his visits to the city of New-York, this year, that he sent the letter to Mrs. Garrettson, the last she ever received from him, of which the following is an extract :—

" Yesterday I spent mostly in prayer and conversation ; to-day in reading, and this evening in writing. To-morrow I expect to be in the book-room with the Committee.

" I groan for perfect freedom. I have heard people talk of laying up a stock of grace ; but, blessed and happy is that person who has a sufficiency from moment to moment, to keep him humble, innocent, and pure. We are every moment dependent upon God. I have no doubt but that retrospection on a long life spent in the service of God, with a continuance in piety, must be very consoling ; but I know there is as great a necessity

for watchfulness and perseverance as ever. The holy, blessed God knows our various weaknesses, and will in old age put beneath us his everlasting arms. O ! to come near to the throne of grace, and touch the hem of his garment by faith, and have every stain washed away. O ! to love God supremely."

In 1827 our Conference was convened at the city of Troy. He attended its sessions with his usual diligence, and among other things supported a Resolution, that there should be preaching at five o'clock in the morning, and cheerfully filled the first appointment himself. At this Conference he was elected again as a delegate to the ensuing General Conference, which was to be held in Pittsburg, Philadelphia, May 1st, 1828. He did not, however, live to see the Conference.

Notwithstanding his age, I believe none acquainted with him, who observed his healthful appearance and activity, thought him so near his end. After the close of the Conference he persevered with his accustomed zeal and diligence in the discharge of his various duties, visiting his old friends, and preaching once or twice every Sabbath. But though his family and friends flattered themselves that he might yet be spared some years to the Church, it appears that he had a presentiment that his departure was at hand, and would often speak of it. Whether this arose from any direct impression upon his mind, or

from feeling the natural decays of age, or from an impression which he received some years since, I cannot tell.

About the 20th of August, 1827, after dining with his family with great cheerfulness, and commanding them to God in prayer, Mr. Garrettson left home for the city of New-York. On his arrival in the city he preached his last sermon in the Duane-street church, on the words of St. Peter, "But grow in grace;" and then administered the sacrament of the Lord's supper to a large number of communicants. It was remarked by some who were present on that occasion, that Mr. Garrettson preached with unusual warmth and energy, a divine unction attending the word. Thus this venerable servant of God closed his public labours in pressing upon his brethren the necessity of going forward in the "work of faith and labour of love," and in participating with them in "drinking of the fruit of the vine," in anticipation of drinking it anew with them in the kingdom of God.

Soon after he was violently seized with a disease called the "strangury." Dr. Mott, a Surgeon of established reputation in the city of New-York, was immediately called; but though his applications afforded a temporary relief, the disease was so obstinately fixed as to resist the power of all attempts to arrest its progress. To Mrs. Garrettson and his daughter the mournful

tidings of his illness were speedily conveyed ; and they hastened to the city to comfort him, and if possible to administer relief. But the hand of death had arrested him. I was absent from the city at the time he was taken ill. On my return, hearing of his illness, and the nature of his disorder, it immediately came to my mind that "this sickness was unto death." As soon as convenient I repaired to the chamber where he was confined, and had a long conversation with him. He seemed to entertain but slender hopes of recovery ; and observed, that should the disease be so far removed as to permit him to live a little longer, he should be a prisoner all his days. Though on the first approach of the disease, which was of a most painful character, he manifested some little restlessness, as if nature struggled involuntarily to free itself from suffering, he soon bowed in humble submission to the divine will, and evinced an unshaken confidence in the mercy of God through our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the conversation to which I have alluded, he unbosomed himself with great freedom, rehearsed the goodness of God, which had been so abundantly manifested to him through every period of his life ; at the same time, as was usual with him, he expressed himself in terms of the deepest self-abasement. At one time he would express his admiration of the perfections of God, as manifested in creation, and more especially in

the grand system of redemption ; and then cry out with holy rapture, "I am filled with the perfect love of God." With much feeling and emphasis he said, " My hope is all founded in the infinite merits of the Lord Jesus ; in this hope I enjoy unspeakable consolation." In this way he lingered, sometimes suffering exquisitely, for about five weeks. He did, indeed, pass through the furnace ; but he came forth, not only unhurt, but abundantly refined ; and he died as he had lived, a witness of perfect love. Redemption was the theme of his contemplation through his sickness. Toward the last he became eager to depart,—to go home.

The following account of some of the last days of Mr. Garrettson is from the pen of Miss Mary K. Garrettson, in a letter to the Rev. Richard Reece of England :—

" For several months before his death, my dear father seemed to feel, in an unusual manner, the uncertainty of his own existence ; and an impression of the shortness of his stay made him rather reluctantly consent to an election for delegate to the General Conference. Our Presiding Elder, Mr. Scofield, has since informed us, that during his last visit here, papa took him to a little retreat in the garden, where he spent many of his hours in devotion, and after conversing on the affairs of the Church, (which ever lay near his heart,) with the spirit of one ready to depart and

be with Christ, he said he should not probably live to see the next Conference. They then kneeled down and prayed together, when ‘the power and presence of God were felt,’ said Mr. Scofield, ‘in a manner never to be forgotten by me.’

“On Friday, the 17th of August, my dear father left us in usual health, expecting to spend the Sabbath in New-York, and to return the ensuing Monday or Tuesday. I can never forget the last day he spent at home;—a serenity and happiness marked his manner, and the purest love was reflected in all his actions. Our table was surrounded by friends. Some had recently arrived, and others were about to depart. A mingled sensation of pleasure at the coming, and regret at the parting guests, pervaded our minds;—but pleasure was predominant, for fancy painted futurity with the pencil of hope, and the regret we felt was just sufficient to soften her vivid colouring. But my dear father;—the heavenly expression of his countenance during that social meal I can never forget; and I find a mournful pleasure in recalling again and again the events of that last day of family enjoyment. After dinner we kneeled down, and he prayed with us in a manner unusually solemn, tender, and affecting. Almost every eye was suffused in tears:—we parted. The next Sabbath was spent by him in the services of the sanctuary, in preaching and

administering the sacrament. On Monday he underwent considerable fatigue, but spent the evening at Mr. Suckley's. He appeared to the family to be in unusual health and spirits, sat up beyond his customary hour, although it was his intention to take the six o'clock boat, and dine with us on the morrow. That night, however, he was seized with his last agonizing disorder ; and after spending several days of intense pain and extreme danger, he consented to abandon the thought of returning home, and to send for mamma and me.

" On our arrival we were told that the crisis of his disorder had been favourably passed, and that, though lingering, there was every prospect of his ultimate recovery. But though we suffered our judgment to be led captive by our wishes even to the last, no hopes of that kind were implanted in his mind. I believe he knew and felt that his time of departure was at hand. His sufferings at times were unutterable ; but through them all were manifested a resignation and fortitude which no agony could destroy. 'I shall be purified as by fire ; I shall be made perfect through sufferings : —it is all right, all right ; not a pain too much,' he would often say. Daily, and almost hourly, he was visited by some one or other of his brethren, who added much to his consolation during those seasons when the heart and the flesh fail, but when the religion of Christ is indescribably precious ;

(the recollection of their kind attentions will never pass from my mind;) and as he descended into the dark valley, his views of the grandeur and efficacy of the atonement became more and more enlarged. His disorder inclined him latterly to slumber, and he was often delirious; but even then the same subject was the theme of his discourse. Towards the last his strength was so much exhausted, that articulation became a painful effort; but he would often, in a languid feeble voice, say, 'I want to go home; I want to be with Jesus, I want to be with Jesus.' To a friend he said, a short time before his death, 'I feel the perfect love of God in my soul.' A day or two before his departure, I heard him say, 'And I shall see Mr. Wesley too!' It appeared as if he was ruminating on the enjoyment of that world, upon the verge of which he then was;—enjoyments which he said a Christian could well understand, as they began in his heart before he was disembodied. His mind seemed employed with subjects for the sweetest feelings of love and adoration. When asked how he did, he would answer, 'I feel love and goodwill to all mankind,' or, 'I see a beauty in all the works of God,' forgetting that the infirmities of his body were the subject of the inquiry. He had resigned his wife and daughter into the hand of God; and so great was his desire to be with Christ, that parting with us was disarmed of its bitterness. His last

sentence, spoken even in death, was, ‘Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty ! Hallelujah ! Hallelujah !’ After that, though he lingered many hours, he could not speak articulately. Once only, clasping his hands, and raising his eyes to heaven, he uttered, ‘Glory, glory !’ Many petitions were offered around his dying bed that he might be permitted to give his last testimony, but they were not granted. For myself, I felt it was not necessary. A holy and laborious life of more than fifty-two years bore ample testimony to the triumph of his soul over its last enemy.

“ Never can I hope to give you more than a faint idea of the solemn yet glorious hour when the spirit achieved that last victory, and was ushered into the joy of the Lord. Encircled by his kind and affectionate friends, by his brethren, and his sons in the Gospel, my venerable father lay apparently unconscious of everything that surrounded him. We felt truly that he was only leaving the church militant to join the church triumphant. Just as the period of his departure approached, one of the Preachers broke forth into prayer ;—prayer so elevated, so holy, that it seemed to rap the hearers above all sublunary consideration, and as he commended the dying saint into the hands of God, he prayed that the mantle of the departing patriarch might rest on his surviving brethren. His prayer seemed answered ;—a divine influence pervaded the apartment ;—two

of the Preachers almost sunk to the floor, under a glorious sense of His presence who filleth immensity. My dear mother, with clasped hands and streaming eyes, exclaimed, ‘Yes, Lord! we give him up freely,—freely give him up to thee!’

“The spirit departed, leaving the body impressed with the sweetest expression of peace and tranquillity; an expression which it retained until the moment when it was shrouded from human observation. We could stand beside those dear remains, and imagine that their appearance of renewed youth and happiness was a pledge of that glorious resurrection, when death shall be swallowed up in victory, and the mortal put on immortality; and we could look on the grave as a sure and certain deposit, until that day when it shall give back its precious seed rejoicing.”

Thus as a ripe shock of corn was he gathered into the garner of his God, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the fifty-second year of his itinerant ministry. He ended his useful life and suffering at the house of his long-tried friend, George Suckley, Esq., in the city of New-York, about two o’clock in the morning of the 26th of September, 1827.

His remains were taken to Rhinebeck, his late residence, accompanied by his bereaved widow and daughter, the writer, and several of the Preachers on the New-York station, Mr. Suckley,

and other friends. These had the mournful pleasure of following the lifeless body into that friendly enclosure, which had so often been enlivened by his presence while living, and while entertaining his friends with Gospel-simplicity and hospitality, and placed in that mansion which had been dedicated to God, and where God had so frequently honoured his servant with his peaceful presence.

On Friday, the 28th, a numerous circle of family connexions, friends, and neighbours, who seemed deeply affected with their loss, were addressed at the house of the deceased by the Rev. Thomas Burch. Afterwards the procession, which was long and solemn, slowly moved to the burying-ground at Rhinebeck Flats, a distance of about two miles, where the funeral service was performed by the writer, and the corpse was deposited in the earth, to sleep till "the resurrection of the just and unjust." A discourse was immediately delivered to a deeply-affected audience, who evinced by their conduct their respect for departed worth.

The next Sabbath his funeral sermon was preached on these words:—"Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace."

The following inscription is on his tomb-stone:—

Sacred to the Memory
of
THE REV. FREEBORN GARRETTSON,
an Itinerant Minister of the
Methodist Episcopal Church.
He commenced his Itinerant ministry
in the year 1775.
In this work he continued until his death,
labouring with great diligence and success
in various parts of the
United States
and of
Nova-Scotia.
He died in peace in the city of
New-York,
September 27th, 1827,
in the 76th year of his age,
and 52d of his ministry.

“Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace.” Psalm xxxvii. 37.

In the death of Mr. Garrettson the church was deprived of one of its most aged, most devoted, and successful Ministers. From the commencement of his ministerial career to its termination, he seems to have pursued his object with untiring constancy and perseverance; and wherever he moved, the purity of his intentions and the uprightness of his deportment secured for him the confidence of all who feared God; while the holy unction which generally accompanied his public

administrations, announced him as the commissioned messenger of God to a lost world.

This, I think, has been sufficiently manifest in the preceding pages. It is therefore unnecessary to add much more, as his private exercises and public labours have been exhibited as they in reality were in the various relations of life which he sustained.

I shall, however, in accordance with the general custom, endeavour to exhibit some of the outlines of a character which the more I contemplate the more I admire,—not so much on account of the brilliancy of talents which it unfolds, as on account of the noble, the Gospel simplicity which so conspicuously distinguished our departed father in the Gospel of Christ.

Let no one suppose that in fixing on this as the distinguishing feature of his character, there is an intention to diminish his worth. Far otherwise. There is no intention either to diminish or to exalt, but to speak what I believe to be the truth in relation to him. When I say that he was eminently distinguished by simplicity, I mean that simplicity which is inseparably connected with a “conscience void of offence towards God and man,” the effect of that divine love in the heart which is always productive of a single and sincere desire to do good, to “glorify his God below, and find his way to heaven.” If ever there was a man on earth devoid of subtlety,

guile, or suspicion, Freeborn Garrettson was that man. While his judgment was well matured by study, by habits of reflection, and a close attention to passing events, his heart was filled with that love which caused this prominent trait of his character to shine forth in all its loveliness, and will, no doubt, be recognised by all who knew him as his distinguishing peculiarity. No corroding suspicions disturbed the sweet repose which reigned in his breast. Until compelled by the irresistible language of facts, to denounce any one as insincere who professed to love the Lord Jesus, he embraced all such as "brethren beloved." Being honest and sincere himself, he could not indulge in a suspicious temper towards others. And if this heavenly disposition sometimes exposed him to the impositions of the cunning and the crafty, it happily relieved him from the vexations of imaginary evils, and the pain of "fearing where no fear was." And if we must err, as seems unavoidable in this fallible and changeable state, how much better is it to suffer the hand of charity to lead us astray, than to be tormented day and night by the evil forebodings of a restless disposition ! From the demon of jealousy, and the evil genius of suspicion, it behoves us all to pray, "Good Lord, deliver us."

This, therefore, is so far from being a defect, that I humbly conceive that it ought to be reckoned among the cardinal virtues of a Chris-

tian. And this marked all his actions, pervaded his whole soul, and contributed to that pure enjoyment in which he so largely participated in the society of his friends.

It was no doubt this simple intention to please his God in all things which gave him such distinguished success in the ministry of the word. It may be fairly questioned whether any one Minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church, or indeed in any other church during the same period, has been instrumental in the awakening and conversion of more sinners than Mr. Garrettson. This, I think, has been abundantly evidenced in the preceding memoir.

It was this simple desire to do good which inspired him with such a flaming ardour and such intrepid courage in the cause of his divine Master. Neither the heat of the south, the cold of the north, nor the variable atmosphere of the more temperate clime; neither the dust and smoke of the city, the hill and dale of the country, nor the forests of the wilderness; neither riches nor poverty, ease nor luxury; neither frowns nor smiles, could damp the ardour of his zeal, or quench the thirst he had for the salvation of immortal souls. Wherever he came, in whatever company, whether of the rich or the poor, in whatever climate, his theme was the same; it was "Jesus, and him crucified;" declaring to all that he was not "ashamed of the Gospel of

Christ." This was the soul and main spring of all his actions ; that which set him in motion, and which kept him moving in the circle of obedience to what he considered, and what the effect of his labours proved to be, a divine call.

What else but a simple desire to do good to all men, as he had opportunity, could have induced him to forsake all in early life, to persevere through "good and evil report," for upwards of fifty years, without fee or reward ? For it may be observed here, that Mr. Garrettson, during the whole course of his ministry, never received any pecuniary recompence ; or if at some times, through the solicitation of his friends, he received any, it was given either to necessitous individuals, or deposited with the funds of the Conference. In this manner the patrimony he inherited from his ancestors was all expended ; and it has often been observed, that for this sacrifice, so nobly and freely offered upon the altar of benevolence, he was rewarded "a hundredfold, even in this life."

And after he came into the possession of a larger estate by his happy marriage, I have frequently heard him say, that the entire income of his property, after meeting his annual expenses, was devoted to charitable purposes. In pursuing this course, and making these sacrifices, what else, I say, could have moved him forward so steadily, and for so long a time, but a single desire to promote the glory of God in the salvation of souls ?

It was the same principle which inspired him with that spirit of liberality towards other denominations of Christians by which he was characterized. Though Mr. Garrettson was sincerely and conscientiously attached to the Church to which he belonged, firmly believed and faithfully defended its peculiarities, yet towards all others which he believed held fast the cardinal and distinguishing doctrines of the Gospel, he exercised a spirit of charity, loving the good of every name, and rejoicing in every thing evangelical he could discover among them. Hence his residence was the resort of Christians and of Christian Ministers of different denominations. While he could hold no fellowship with those who openly denied the proper Deity of Jesus Christ, and consequently set aside his atonement for the sins of the world, most cordially he gave the right hand of fellowship to all who "loved the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity," and who believed and defended the grand cardinal truths of Christianity. However much they might differ from him in points of minor importance, if they held fast these great doctrines of God our Saviour, he embraced them as his brethren in the Lord. Here was a full display of that "love which thinketh no evil." As a proof of the truth of these remarks, the following anecdote is related of Mr. Garrettson, at the time he visited Providence, in Rhode-Island :—

A member of Mr. Snow's church (Mr. Snow was either a Congregational or a Presbyterian Minister) expressed some anxiety to know whether Mr. Garrettson meant to establish a Methodist church in Providence. Mr. Garrettson replied to this effect:—"Be assured, Sir, that if I do, I shall not admit you." "Why would you not receive me?" said the gentleman: "have you heard any thing to my disparagement?" "No, Sir," said Mr. Garrettson; "I have heard nothing which would not entitle you to an honourable standing in any church; but you are under a spiritual Minister. I would rather add to, than take from, Mr. Snow's church; and were I to raise a church in this place, they should be gathered from among those who were not privileged with such a ministry, or those who would not avail themselves of the privilege."

It was this same principle which attached him so affectionately to his brethren in the ministry, as well as to all the members of the church. Though, as before said, he loved and honoured all Ministers of Christ, of whatever name, he manifested a very peculiar attachment to the Ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He never seemed so happy as when in their society. To those of them with whom he was intimate he would unbosom himself without reserve. His house was the free resort of all who could visit him, and they were entertained with all the

hospitality and simplicity of primitive times. To his house, his table, and his heart, they always found a hearty welcome. Many happy hours of social intercourse, and of Christian conversation, has the writer enjoyed under that peaceful roof, the mention of which brings to mind so many endearing recollections.

This leads me to mention the manner in which this heavenly disposition displayed itself in domestic life. Here the beauty and excellence of religion shone in all its divine lustre and heavenly simplicity. I remember a few years since a conversation with a pious Presbyterian lady of the city of New-York, who was in habits of intimacy with Mrs. Garrettson, and who had recently returned from a visit to the family at Rhinebeck. She was expressing her great satisfaction at the admirable order which prevailed there : "I do not mean," said she, "the order of the farm or of the house, though this is indeed worthy of all praise ; but I mean the religious order which prevails throughout every department ; the orderly arrangement for family devotions, and the orderly manner in which the servants, and all attached to the household, attend to their religious as well as to their other duties." This was saying nothing more than what was strictly true. God indeed seemed abundantly to bless him in this respect. All about the farm, all his domestics, were moral, most of them religious, and they were generally

members of the Methodist Church. The example continually set before them taught them the utility, as well as the indispensable duty, of an orderly and regular attendance to all the duties of the sanctuary, as also to their private and family devotions. In this circle, therefore, God reigned. Here he "commanded his blessing, even life for evermore." Every thing here was "sanctified by the word of God and prayer." Reading a portion of the sacred Scriptures, singing some verses of a hymn, and prayer, formed the family devotions of the evening and morning, and then every one went orderly to his business. If company remained, they might either retire to a room, or enjoy the benefits of society in the house, or, particularly in the summer season, in the pleasant walks in the garden, or under the shade of a delightful bower, or the foliage of the forest-trees with which the mansion was surrounded. Wherever they went on this enclosure, peace and contentment smiled around, and produced a charm unknown to thoughtless and dissipated minds.

What contributed much to his own comfort was the placability of his disposition, another inseparable companion of that divine simplicity which predominated in his heart. That he had enemies was not his fault. No one should have been his enemy. Neither had such any cause to fear him, because he would not have hurt them

even if he could. While he fulfilled the divine command in loving his friends, he also inherited the blessing of those who bless and curse not, and who pray for those who spitefully use them. On how many heads he has thus heaped "coals of fire," and by the influence of this love melted them into tenderness, and made them his friends, "that day" alone can declare; but I have heard it remarked, that, if you wanted to obtain a special favour from Mr. Garrettson, you must do him some injury, for he was sure to repay it by an act of kindness. Not that he was insensible to injuries and insults. He felt them, and felt them keenly; but he well understood the difference between feeling an insult, and manifesting a suitable indignation at the conduct of the malevolent, and suffering the passion of revenge to linger in his bosom. While he wept over the miseries of the wicked, and commiserated the condition of those who might be actuated by private malice or personal hostility, he bore them before the throne of grace in prayer, evincing the tenderest love to their persons, and the sincerest desire for the salvation of their souls. He thus exemplified the spirit which actuated his divine Master, when he prayed, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." I have known him take special pains to conciliate the goodwill of persons whom he feared he had wounded, merely because he conscientiously differed from

them in opinion, lest they might harbour the thought that he entertained unkind feelings towards them. He could, indeed, be reconciled to any thing but sin, and those dangerous errors which struck at the fundamental doctrines of Christ. To these enemies of God and man he showed no mercy.

To the same ardent thirst for the salvation of lost men may be attributed his zealous co-operation in all our benevolent institutions. He lived to see that divine principle which thrust him out into his Lord's vineyard in the midst of obloquy and reproach, when the true disciples of Jesus were "as a speckled bird, and the birds round about" were against them, enlarged into an expansive benevolence; and so mightily had the word of God increased, and the number of disciples multiplied, that institutions of charity were springing up in every direction, to bless the world with an increase of light and knowledge. Mr. Garretson watched the rise and progress of these institutions with strong and increasing interest. He aided their operations by contributing to their funds.

To the American Bible Society he became a life-member. He assisted as one of the founders of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, became first an annual contributor, afterwards a life-member, and often stimulated others to become its supporters. To the Tract

and Sunday-School Societies he was a warm friend and faithful patron. And if at any time he did not answer the expectations of some in the frequency and the amount of his donations, it was because they knew not the multitude of calls which were made upon his bounty, nor the urgency with which they were pressed upon his attention. It being generally believed that he was rich in this world's goods, and well known that he was a friend to suffering humanity, all were ready to turn their attention to him for aid ; and hence, had he given according to each one's expectations, he would very soon have been a pauper himself, and thus been deprived of the means of "scattering abroad" the charities of a liberal mind. That he endeavoured conscientiously to "use his Lord's money," and to make to himself "friends of the mammon of unrighteousness," none will dispute who were acquainted with his manner of life.

If we view Mr. Garrettson as a Minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, we shall behold the same disposition displaying itself on all occasions. Indeed so habitual was the impression on the minds of all with whom he was acquainted, of his deep sincerity, of the simple desire of his heart to ascertain and promulgate the truth as it is in Jesus, that however some might differ from him in his views, they could hardly resist the conviction which the force of this principle made on their

hearts. And if it be the chief business of a Minister of the sanctuary to carry a conviction to the hearts of sinners of the truths of the Gospel, and to awaken within them a serious concern respecting the solemn realities of eternity ; if the object of his mission be to point those "that mourn in Zion" to the "Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world ;" if he should not cease his exhortations until he lead the penitent sinner to the blood of atonement, "which cleanseth from all unrighteousness," and until he so believe as to receive the witness in himself that he is born of God ; if the end of his commission is to build up believers "in their most holy faith," and never let them rest until they are filled with the perfect love of God ; if to accomplish these objects be the principal aim of the Minister, then we may pronounce the Rev. Free-born Garrettson to have been a true Minister of Jesus Christ. If it be the duty of a Minister commissioned of God to "go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," as far as his strength and opportunities will permit ; and if in doing this he is to give evidence of his call to the work by preaching with all that zeal and pathos which distinguish men influenced by the Spirit of God, and having the worth of souls pressing upon their hearts ; then did the subject of this memoir discharge his duty, and give the most substantial evidence of his divine call to

this holy and important work. His labour and diligence were great, and his success in winning souls to Christ was in proportion. Wherever he went he left the impressions of truth behind him. Sinners were made to feel their awful responsibility to God, while His people felt the “holy anointing,” and often “shouted aloud for joy.”

He held on his way. Whatever impediments were thrown in his path, they did not stop his progress. Having fixed his “single eye” on the “prize of his high calling” at the outset, he pursued it to the end of life. We have seen him renouncing ease, affluence, all those enjoyments which domestic felicity might afford, for the sake of winning souls to Christ. The church—the welfare of the church—occupied his private meditations, and engaged his public labours. And he lived to see that church to which he belonged, and whose interests were identified with his own, increase from three thousand one hundred and forty-eight, the number in membership when he commenced his youthful and successful career in 1775, to three hundred and eighty-one thousand nine hundred and ninety-seven, the number returned on the Minutes in 1827, the year in which he died; and the number of Travelling Preachers increase from nineteen to one thousand five hundred and seventy-six. Well might he say, as he did in his semi-centennial sermon, “We shall hear of spiritual fathers and of their spiritual

children blessing and praising God that they were ever sent out to traverse the mountains and valleys to call sinners to repentance." How many will rise up in that day and call him blessed, He only who numbers the hairs of our heads can tell.

But that which gave such efficiency to his labour in the Gospel was "the unction of the Holy One," which rested upon him. No man, I believe, was more deeply sensible of the indispensableness of the Holy Spirit to enable the Minister of Christ to succeed in his work, than Mr. Garrettson. Deriving all his doctrine and precepts from the pure fountain of divine truth, the holy Scriptures, he made these his daily study; and, being deeply conscious that he must have the enlightening and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit to enable him rightly to understand and apply these truths, he was assiduous in his addresses to the throne of grace, firmly believing that God would "give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him." The success, therefore, which accompanied his public labours is not attributable to the force of human persuasion, or to the "words of man's wisdom," but to the "demonstration of the Spirit," which accompanied his word. Thus armed with the "sword of the Spirit," his word was "mighty, through God, to the pulling down the strong holds of Satan."

His action in the pulpit was not generally

graceful, nor could he be pronounced eloquent, according to the usual definition of that word. On some occasions, however, he seemed inspired with an eloquence far surpassing all human attainments, when his words were accompanied with a gesticulation appropriate and striking, and which bespoke a soul filled "with glory and with God." On these occasions the congregation would be overwhelmed with a sense of the divine presence, while tears and groans, prayer and praise, would sufficiently attest the power with which he spoke.

There was great variety in his preaching, both as to the manner and matter, which made his discourses always both entertaining and useful ; and I believe he seldom wearied an audience with a dry detail of uninteresting matter, or with speculations which did not profit the hearer. His was the preaching of a man aiming to be useful, aspiring to be good instead of great, penetrating by the arrows of truth into the sinner's heart, and pouring the balm of consolation into the "wounded spirit." It was deep, experimental, and practical.

Such was the character of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson. And if his name be not handed down to posterity as one of the greatest Ministers with which the Methodist Episcopal Church has been favoured, he will unquestionably be ranked among the best, the most devoted, and the most successful.

From the time of his conversion to God, in the twenty-third year of his age, until his death, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, under the protection of "the everlasting arms," the purity of his life, and the uprightness of his deportment, were never questioned, but acknowledged by all with whom he had intercourse; and for upwards of fifty-one years he appeared before the public as an ambassador of the Lord Jesus Christ, during which time the words of his lips gained the more credence from the unimpaired confidence which every one had in the integrity of his heart and the righteousness of his life. And when he sunk into the grave, he was the oldest Travelling Minister of that Church, whose general economy he loved, whose doctrines he believed and preached, whose God and Saviour he adored, and served in "the fellowship of the Gospel," and whose ramparts he left, after having defended them for more than fifty years, to take his seat in that "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, whose builder and maker is God."

Finally: in contemplating his character, we may take the text on which he so often delighted to preach, and which was selected as the foundation of his funeral discourse, and say, "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace."

THE LIFE
OF
WILLIAM BEDELL, D. D.,

BISHOP OF KILMORE IN IRELAND.

BY BISHOP BURNET.

SLIGHTLY ABRIDGED.

THE LIFE
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CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM BEDELL was born at Black-Notley, in Essex, in the year 1570. He was the younger son of an ancient and good family, and of no inconsiderable estate. After he had passed through the common education at schools, he was sent to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and put under Dr. Chadderton's care; the famous and long-lived head of that house. And here all those extraordinary things that rendered him afterwards so conspicuous began to show themselves in such a manner that he came to have a very eminent character both for learning and piety; so that appeals were often made to him, as differences or controversies arose in the University. He was put into holy orders by the Bishop Suffragan of

Colchester. Till I met with this passage, I did not think these Suffragans had been continued so long in England. How they came to be put down I do not know: it is probable they ordained all that desired orders so promiscuously, that the Bishops found it necessary to let them fall. For complaints were made of this Suffragan; upon which he was threatened with the taking of his commission from him: for though they could do nothing but by a delegation from the Bishop, yet the orders he gave were still valid, even when he transgressed in conferring them. Upon that the Suffragan said a thing that was as insolent in him as it was honourable for Mr. Bedell,—that he had ordained a better man than any that the Bishop had ever ordained; naming Bedell. He was chosen Fellow of the College in 1593, and took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity in the year 1599.

From the University he was removed to the town of St. Edmundsbury, in Suffolk, where he served long in the Gospel, and with great success; he and his colleague being of such different characters, that whereas it was said of him that he made the most difficult places of Scripture appear plain, it was said that his colleague made the plainest places appear difficult; the opening of dark passages and the comparing of many texts of Scripture, together with a serious and practical application of them, being the chief subject of his

sermons. This method several other great men at that time followed, such as Bishop Usher, Dr. Jackson, and Mr. Mede. He had an occasion given him not long after his settlement in this charge to show his courage, and how little he either courted preferment, or was afraid of falling under the displeasure of great men. For when the Bishop of Norwich proposed some things to a meeting of his Clergy, with which they were generally dissatisfied, though they had not resolution enough to oppose them ; he took that hard task upon himself, and did it with so much strength of reason, as well as discretion, that many of those things were let fall. Upon which, when his brethren came and magnified him for it, he checked them, and said he desired not the praises of men. His reputation was so great and so well established both in the University and in Suffolk, that, when King James sent Sir Henry Wotton to be his Ambassador at Venice at the time of the interdict, Bedell was recommended as the fittest man to go as Chaplain in so critical a conjuncture. This employment proved much happier and more honourable for him than that of his fellow-student and chamber-fellow, Mr. Wadsworth ; who was at that time beneficed in the same diocess with him, and was about that time sent into Spain, and was afterwards appointed to teach the Infanta the English tongue, when the match between the late King and her was

believed concluded. For Wadsworth was prevailed upon to change his religion and abandon his country ; as if in them those words of our Saviour had been to be verified, “ There shall be two in one bed, the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left.” For as the one of these was wrought upon to forsake his religion, the other was very near being an instrument of a great and happy change in the republic of Venice. I need not say much of a thing so well known as were the quarrels of Pope Paul V. and that republic ; especially since the history of them is written so particularly by Father Paul, that knew the matter best. Some laws made by the Senate, not unlike our statutes of mortmain, restraining the excessive donations extorted from superstitious men, and the imprisoning two lewd Friars in order to the executing of justice upon them, were the grounds of the quarrel ; and upon those pretences the ecclesiastical immunity from the secular tribunals was asserted to such a degree, that, after that high-spirited Pope had tried what the spiritual sword could do, but without success, (his interdict not being observed by any but the Jesuits, the Capuchins, and Theatines, who were upon that banished the State, for the age of the Anselms and the Becketts could not be now recalled,) he resolved to try the temporal sword next, according to the advice which Cardinal Baronius gave him ; who told him in the consis-

tory, that there were two things said to St. Peter: the first was, "Feed my sheep;" the other was, "Arise and kill." And, therefore, since he had already executed the first part of St. Peter's duty, in feeding the flock, by exhortations, admonitions, and censures, without the desired effect, he had nothing left but to "arise and kill." And that not being an age in which crusades could pass upon the world, and the Pope not finding any other Prince that would execute his bulls, he resolved to make war upon them himself, hoping to find assistance from the crown of Spain, which he believed would be willing to enlarge its dominions on that side. But when all help failed him, and he saw that his censures had not created any distractions in the republic, and found its treasure and force like to prove a match too hard to the apostolical chamber, and to such forces as he could levy and pay, he was at last willing to accept of a mediation; in which the Senate, though they were content to deliver up the two profligate Friars, yet asserted their right, and maintained their laws, notwithstanding all his threatenings; nor would they so much as ask pardon, or crave absolution.

Father Paul was then the Divine of the state, a man equally eminent for vast learning, and a most consummate prudence; and was at once one of the greatest Divines and of the wisest men of his age. But to commend the celebrated his-

torian of the Council of Trent, is a thing so needless that I may well stop ; yet it must needs raise the character of Bedell much, that an Italian, who, besides the caution that is natural to the country, and the prudence that obliged one in his circumstances to a more than ordinary distrust of all the world, was tied up by the strictness of that government to a very great reservedness with all people, yet took Bedell into his very soul ; and, as Sir Henry Wotton assured the late King, he communicated to him the most secret thoughts of his heart, and professed that he had learned more from him in all the parts of divinity, whether speculative or practical, than from any person he had ever conversed with in his life. So great an intimacy with so extraordinary a person is enough to raise a character, were there no more to be added. Father Paul went further, for he assisted him in acquiring the Italian tongue ; in which Bedell became such a master, that he spoke it as one born in Italy, and penned all the sermons he then preached, either in Italian or Latin. In the last of these languages it will appear, by the productions of his pen yet remaining, that he had a true Roman style, inferior to none of the modern writers, if not equal to the ancients. In requital of the instruction he received from Father Paul in the Italian tongue, he drew up a grammar of the English tongue for his use, and for some

others that desired to learn it, that they might be able to understand our books of divinity. He also translated the English Common-prayer book into Italian: and Father Paul and the seven Divines that during the interdict were commanded by the Senate both to preach and write against the Pope's authority, liked it so well, that they resolved to make it their pattern, in case the differences between the Pope and them had produced the effect which they hoped and longed for.

The intimacy between them grew so great and so public, that when Father Paul was wounded by those assassins that were set on by the court of Rome to destroy so redoubted an enemy, upon the failing of which attempt a guard was set on him by the Senate, that knew how to value and preserve so great a treasure, and much precaution was used before any were admitted to come to him, Bedell was excepted out of those rules, and had free access to him at all times. They had many and long discourses concerning religion. He found Father Paul had read over the Greek New Testament with so much exactness, that having used to mark every word when he had fully weighed the import of it as he went through it; he had, by going often over it, and observing what he passed over in a former reading, grown up to that at last, that every word was marked of the whole New Testament: and when Bedell

suggested to him critical explications of some passages that he had not understood before, he received them with the transports of one that leaped for joy, and that valued the discoveries of divine truth beyond all other things.

During his stay at Venice, the famous Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, came to Venice ; and having received a just character of Mr. Bedell, he discovered his secret to him, and showing him his ten books, *De Republicā Ecclesiasticā*, which he afterwards printed at London, Bedell took the freedom which he allowed him, and corrected many ill applications of texts of Scripture, and quotations from Fathers. For that Prelate, being utterly ignorant of the Greek tongue, could not but be guilty of many mistakes both in the one and the other ; and if there remain some places still that discover his ignorance of that language too plainly, there had been many more if Bedell had not corrected them : but it is no wonder, if, in such a multitude, some escaped his diligence. De Dominis took all this in good part from him ; and entered into such familiarity with him, and found his assistance so useful, and indeed so necessary to himself, that he used to say he could do nothing without him.

An occurrence fell out during the interdict, that made greater noise than perhaps the importance of it could well amount to ; but it was suited to the Italian genius. There came a Jesuit to

Venice, Thomas Maria Caraffa, who printed a thousand theses of philosophy and divinity, which he dedicated to the Pope with this extravagant inscription : *Paulo V. Vice-Deo Christianæ Reipublicæ Monarchæ invictissimo, et Pontificiæ omnipotentiae conservatori acerrimo.* “To Paul V. the Vice-God, the most invincible Monarch of the Christian Commonwealth, and the most zealous asserter of the Papal omnipotency.”

All people were amazed at the impudence of this title ; but when Mr. Bedell observed that the numeral letters of the first words, *Paulo V. Vice-Deo*, being put together, made exactly six hundred and sixty-six, the number of the beast in the Revelation, he communicated this to Father Paul and the seven Divines, and they carried it to the Duke and Senate. It was entertained almost as if it had come from heaven ; and was publicly preached over all their territories, that here was a certain evidence that the Pope was Antichrist. It is likely that this was promoted by them more, because they found it took with the Italians, than that they could build much upon it ; though it was as strong as the like computation from the Greek work *Λατεῖνος*, upon which some of the ancients laid some weight. This flew so over Italy, that lest it should take too much among the people, the Pope caused his emissaries to give it out every where, that Antichrist was now born in Babylon,

and was descended of the tribe of Dan ; and that he was gathering a vast army, with which he intended to come and destroy Christendom ; and therefore all Christian Princes were exhorted to prepare all their forces for resisting so great an invasion. With this piece of false news, that was given out very confidently, the other conceit was choked. Though Mr. Bedell makes use of it in his book against Wordsworth, yet he was too modest a man to claim the discovery of it to himself ; but Sir Henry Wotton assured King James, that he first observed it.

Here I must add a passage, concerning which I am in doubt whether it reflected more on the sincerity, or on the understanding, of the English Ambassador. The breach between the Pope and the republic was brought very near a crisis ; so that it was expected a total separation, not only from the court but the Church of Rome, was likely to follow upon it. It was set on by Father Paul and the seven Divines with much zeal, and was very prudently conducted by them. In order to the advancing of it, King James ordered his Ambassador to offer all possible assistance to them, and to accuse the Pope and the Papacy as the chief authors of all the mischiefs of Christendom. The Prince and Senate answered this in words full of respect to King James, and said, that they knew things were not so bad as some endeavoured to make the world believe, on design to sow dis-

cord between Christian Princes : and when the Pope's Nuncio objected, that King James was not a Catholic, and so was not to be relied on ; the Duke answered, the King of England believed in Jesus Christ, but he did not know in whom some others believed. Upon which Father Paul and the seven Divines pressed Mr. Bedell to move the Ambassador to present King James's premonition to all Christian Princes and States, then put in Latin, to the Senate, and they were confident it would produce a great effect. But the Ambassador could not be prevailed upon to do it at that time, and pretended that since St. James's day was not far off, it would be more proper to do it on that day. If this was only for the sake of a speech that he had made on the conceit of St. James's day and King James's book, with which he had intended to present it, that was a weakness never to be excused. But if this was only a pretence, and that there was a design under it, it was a crime not to be forgiven. All that Bedell could say or do to persuade him not to put off a thing of such importance was in vain ; and indeed I can hardly think that Wotton was so weak a man as to have acted sincerely in this matter. Before St. James's day came, which I suppose was the 1st of May, and not the 25th of July, the difference was made up, and that happy opportunity was lost ; so that when he had his audience on that day, in which he presented the

book, all the answer he got was, that they thanked the King of England for his goodwill, but they were now reconciled to the Pope, and that therefore they were resolved not to admit of any change in their religion, according to their agreement with the court of Rome.

It may be easily imagined what a wound this was to his Chaplain ; but much more to those who were more immediately concerned in that matter ; I mean Father Paul, with the seven Divines, and many others, who were weary of the corruptions of their worship, and were groaning for a reformation. But now the reconciliation with Rome was concluded, the Senate carried the matter with all the dignity and majesty that became that most serene republic, as to all civil things ; for they would not ask absolution ; but the Nuncio, to save the Pope's credit, came into the Senate-house before the Duke was come, and crossed his cushion and absolved him. Yet upon this they would not suffer any public signs of joy to be made ; nor would they recall the Jesuits. But in all these things greater regard was had to the dignity of the State, than to the interest of religion ; so that Father Paul was out of all hope of bringing things ever back to so promising a conjuncture ; upon which he wished he could have left Venice and come over to England with Mr. Bedell : but he was so much esteemed by the Senate for his great wisdom, that he was

consulted by them as an oracle, and trusted with their most important secrets : so that he saw it was impossible for him to obtain his leave ; and therefore he made a shift to comply as far as he could with the established way of their worship : but he had in many things particular methods, by which he in a great measure rather quieted than satisfied his conscience. In saying of mass, he passed over many parts of the canon, and in particular those prayers in which that sacrifice was offered up to the honour of saints. He never prayed to saints, nor joined in those parts of the offices that went against his conscience ; and in private confessions and discourses, he took people off from those abuses, and gave them right notions of the purity of the Christian religion. He hoped he was sowing seeds that might be fruitful in another age : and thus he believed he might live innocent in a Church that he thought so defiled. When one pressed him hard in this matter, and objected that he still held communion with an idolatrous Church, and gave it credit by adhering outwardly to it, by which means others that depended much on his example would be likewise encouraged to continue in it; all the answer he made to this was, that God had not given him the spirit of Luther. He expressed great tenderness and concern for Bedell, when he parted with him ; and said that both he and many others would have gone over with him, if it

had been in their power: but that he might never be forgotten by him, he gave him his picture, with a Hebrew Bible without points, and a little Hebrew Psalter, in which he wrote some sentences expressing his esteem and friendship for him; and with these he gave him the invaluable manuscript of the "History of the Council of Trent," together with the "History of the Interdict," and of the "Inquisition :" the first of these will ever be reckoned the chief pattern after which all that intend to succeed well in writing history must copy. But among other papers that Father Paul gave him, some that were of great importance are lost: for in a letter of Mr. Bedell to Dr. Ward, he mentions a collection of letters that were sent him weekly from Rome during the contests between the Jesuits and Dominicans, concerning the efficacy of grace; of which Father Paul gave him the originals; and in his letter to Dr. Ward, he mentions his having sent them to him. These, very probably, contained a more particular relation of that matter than the world has yet seen, since they were written to so curious and so inquisitive a man: but it seems he did not allow Bedell to print them; and so I am afraid they are now irrecoverably lost.

When Bedell came over, he brought along with him the Archbishop of Spalato, and one Despontine, a Physician, who could no longer bear with the corruptions of the Roman worship, and so

chose a freer air. The latter lived near him in St. Edmundsbury, and was by his means introduced into much practice, which he maintained so well, that he became eminent in his profession, and continued to his death to keep up a constant correspondence with him. As for the Archbishop of Spalato, his story is too well known to need to be much enlarged on. He was an ambitious man, and set too great a value on himself; and expressed it so indecently, that he sunk much in the estimation of the English Clergy, by whom he was at first received with all possible respect; but after he had stayed some years in England, upon the promotion of Pope Gregory XIV., who had been his school-fellow and old acquaintance, he was made to believe that the Pope intended to give him a Cardinal's hat, and to make great use of him in all affairs; so that he fancied that he should be the instrument of a great reformation in the Church. His pride made him too easy to flatter himself with these vain hopes; and the distaste some of the English Clergy had taken at him for his ambition and covetousness, gave Gundamor, the Spanish Ambassador, great advantages in the conduct of that matter. For his mind, which was blown up with vanity, and sharpened with resentment, was easily wrought upon; so that he, believing that the promises made him would not only be performed, but that he might be the instrument of bringing

.about a great change, even at Rome, went thither. He was at first well received by the Pope himself. But he happened to say of Cardinal Bellarmine, who had written against him, that he had not answered his arguments. Upon this a complaint was carried to the Pope, as if he had been still of the same mind, in which he was when he published his books. He excused himself, and said, that though Bellarmine had not answered his arguments, yet he did not say they were unanswerable ; and he offered to answer them himself, if they would allow him time for it. But this excuse was not accepted ; so he was cast into the Inquisition, but was never brought to any trial. He was poisoned not long after, his body was cast out at a window, and all his goods were confiscated to the Pope. This was the tragical end of that great but inconstant man. If he had had as good a soul as he had a great understanding, together with vast learning, considering his education and other disadvantages, he would have deserved to be reckoned among the greatest men of his age. In his fate it appeared how foolish credulous vanity makes a man ; since he that was an Italian born, and knew the court of Rome so well, could be wrought on so far as to believe that they were capable of pardoning and promoting him after the mischief he had done their cause. This account of that

matter my author had from Mr. Bedell's own mouth.

Mr. Bedell had now finished one of the scenes of his life with great honour. The most considerable addition he made to his learning at Venice, was in the improvements in the Hebrew, in which he made a great progress by the assistance of R. Leo, who was the chief Chacham of the Jewish synagogue there. From him he learned their way of pronunciation, and some other parts of rabbinical learning; but in exchange for it, he communicated to him that which was much more valuable,—the true understanding of many passages in the Old Testament, with which that Rabbi expressed himself often to be highly satisfied. And once in a solemn dispute he pressed his Rabbi with so clear proofs that Jesus Christ is the true Messias, that he, and several others of his brethren, had no other way to escape, but to say that their Rabbins every where expounded those prophecies otherwise, according to the tradition of their fathers. By R. Leo's means, he purchased that fair manuscript of the Old Testament, which he gave to Emmanuel college; and, as I am credibly informed, it cost him its weight in silver.

CHAPTER II.

AFTER eight years' stay in Venice, Bedell returned to England ; and without pretending to preferment, or aspiring to it, he went immediately to his charge at St. Edmundsbury, and there went on in his ministerial labours ; with which he mixed the translating Father Paul's immortal writings into Latin. Sir Adam Newton translated the two first books of the History of the Council of Trent, but was not master enough of the two languages ; so that the Archbishop of Spalato said it was not the same work ; but he highly approved of the two last, which were translated by Mr. Bedell, who likewise translated the History of the Interdict, and of the Inquisition, and dedicated them to the King. But no notice was taken of him ; he lived still private and unknown in that obscure corner. He had a soul of too generous a composition to stoop to those servile compliances, that are often expected by those that have the distribution of preferments in their power. He thought that was an abjectness of spirit that became not a Christian philosopher, much less a Churchman, who ought to express a contempt of the world, a contentedness with a low condition, and a resignation of one's outward circumstances wholly to the conduct of Divine Providence ; and not to

give that advantage which atheists and libertines take, from the covetousness and aspirings of some Churchmen, to scoff at religion, and to call the priesthood a trade. He was content to deserve preferment, and did not envy others who, upon less merit, but more industry, arrived at it. But though he was forgotten at court, yet an eminent gentleman in Suffolk, Sir Thomas Jermyn, who was a Privy Counsellor, and Vice Chamberlain to King Charles the First, and a great patron of virtue and piety, took such a liking to him, that he continued his whole life to pay him a very particular esteem ; and a considerable living that was in his gift falling void, he presented him to it in the year 1615. When he came to the Bishop of Norwich to take out his title to it, he demanded large fees for his institution and induction. But Bedell would give no more than what was sufficient to pay for the writing, the wax, and the parchment ; and refused to pay the rest. He looked upon it as simony in the Bishop, to demand more, and as contrary to the command of Christ, who said to his Apostles, “ Freely ye have received, and freely give ; ” and thought it was a branch of the sin of simony to sell spiritual things to spiritual persons ; and since whatsoever was asked that was more than a decent gratification to the servant for his pains, was asked by reason of the thing that was granted, he thought this was unbecoming the Gospel, and that it was

a sin both in the giver and in the taker. He had observed that nothing was more expressly contrary to all the primitive rules. Chrysostom examined a complaint made against Autonine Bishop of Ephesus, for exacting fees at ordination. Autonine died before the process was finished ; but some Bishops, that had paid those fees, were upon that degraded and made incapable to officiate any more, though they pretended that they paid that money as a fee for obtaining a release from such obligations as lay on them by law to serve the court. Afterwards, not only all ordinations for money, but the taking money for any employment that depended upon the Bishop's gift, was most severely condemned by the Council of Chalcedon. The buyer was to lose his degree, and the seller was to be in danger of it. After that, severe censures were every where decreed against all presents that might be made to Bishops, either before or after ordinations, or upon the account of writings, or of feasts, or any other expense that was brought in use to be made upon that occasion ; and even in the Council of Trent it was decreed, that nothing should be taken for letters dimissory, the certificates, the seals, or upon any such like ground, either by Bishops or their servants, even though it was freely offered.

Upon these accounts Mr. Bedell resolved rather to lose his presentation to the parsonage of

Horningsheath than to purchase his title to it by doing that which he thought simony. And he left the Bishop, and went home. But, some few days after, the Bishop sent for him, and gave him his titles, without exacting fees of him ; and so he removed to that place, where he stayed twelve years, during which time he was a great honour to the Church, as well as a pattern to all Churchmen. His way of living was very plain, and becoming the simplicity of his profession. He was very tender of those that were truly poor ; but was so strict in examining all vagabonds, and so dexterous in discovering counterfeit passes, and took such care of punishing those that went about with them, that they came no more to him, nor to his town. In all that time no notice was ever taken of him, though he gave a very singular evidence of his great capacity. For being provoked by his old acquaintance Wadsworth's Letters, he wrote upon the points in controversy with the Church of Rome with so much learning and judgment, and in so mild a strain, that no wonder if his book had a good effect on him for whom it was intended. It is true he never returned and changed his religion himself ; but his son came from Spain into Ireland, when Bedell was promoted to the bishopric of Kilmore there, and told him, that his father commanded him to thank him for the pains he was at in writing it. He said it was almost always lying

open before him, and that he had heard him say, he was resolved to save one. And it seems he instructed his son in the true religion; for he declared himself a Protestant on his coming over. This book was printed, and dedicated to the Prince of Wales, in the year 1624.

The true reasons that obstructed Bedell's preferment seem to be these: He was a Calvinist in the matter of decrees and grace; and preferments went generally at that time to those that held the other opinions. He had also another principle, which was not very acceptable to some in power: he thought conformity was an exact adhering to the Rubric; and that the adding any new rite or ceremony was as much nonconformity as the passing over those that were prescribed. He would not use those bowings, or gesticulations, that grew so much in fashion, that men's affections were measured by them. He had too good an understanding not to conclude, that these things were not unlawful in themselves; but he had observed that when once the humour of adding new rites and ceremonies got into the church, it went on by a fatal increase, till it had grown up to that bulk to which we find it swelled in the Church of Rome. And this began so early, and grew so fast, that St. Austin complained of it in his time, saying, that the condition of Christians was then more uneasy by that yoke of observances, than that of the Jews had been.

And therefore Bedell thought the adhering to established laws and rules was a certain and fixed thing ; whereas superstition was infinite. So he was against all innovations, or arbitrary and assumed practices ; and so much the more, when men were distinguished, and marked out for preferment, by that which in strictness of law was a thing that deserved punishment. For in the Act of Uniformity, made in the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, it was made highly penal to use any other rite or ceremony, order or form, either in the sacraments, or in morning or evening prayers, than what was mentioned and set forth in that book ; and this was particularly intended to restrain some that were leavened with the former superstition, and yet, for saving their benefices, might conform to the new service, but retain still with it many of the old rites in sacred offices. Therefore he continued to make the Rubric the measure of his conformity, as well before his promotion as after it.

But he was satisfied with that which the providence of God laid in his way, and went on in the duties of his pastoral care, and in his own private studies ; and was as great a pattern in Suffolk, of the pastoral care in the lower degree, as he proved afterwards in Ireland in the higher order. He laboured not as a hireling that only raised a revenue out of his parish, and abandoned his flock, trusting them to the cheapest merce-

nary that he could find ; nor did he satisfy himself with a slight performance of his duty only for fashion's sake ; but he watched over his flock like one that knew he was to answer to God for those souls that were committed to his charge : so he preached to the understandings and consciences of his parish, and catechised constantly. And, as the whole course of his own most exemplary behaviour was a continued sermon, so he was very exact in the more private parts of his function, visiting the sick, and dealing in secret with his people, to excite or preserve in them a deep sense of religion. This he made his work ; and he followed it so close, and lived so much at home, that he was so little known, or so much forgotten, that when Diodati came over to England, many years after this, he could hear of him from no person that he met with ; though he was acquainted with many of the Clergy. He was much amazed at this, to find that so extraordinary a man, that was so much admired at Venice, by so good judges, was not so much as known in his own country ; and so he was out of all hope of finding him out, but by a mere accident he met him in the streets of London, at which there was a great deal of joy on both sides. Upon that Diodati presented him to Morton, the learned and ancient Bishop of Durham, and told how great a value Father Paul set on him ; upon which that Bishop treated him in a very particu-

lar manner. It is true, Sir Henry Wotton was always his firm and faithful friend ; but his credit at court had sunk ; for he fell under necessities, having lived at Venice in an expense above his appointments. And as necessitous courtiers must grow to forget all concerns but their own ; so their interest abates, and the favour they are in lessens, when they come to need it too much. Sir Thomas Jermyn was in more credit, though he was always suspected of being too favourable to the Puritans ; so that his inclinations being known, the character he could give of him did not serve to raise him in England.

While he was thus neglected at home, his fame was spread into Ireland ; and though he was not known either to the famous Bishop Usher, or to any of the Fellows of Trinity College in Dublin, yet he was chosen, by their unanimous consent, to be the head of their College, in the year 1627 ; and as that worthy Primate of Ireland, together with the Fellows of the College, wrote to him, inviting him to come and accept of that Mastership, so an address was made to the King, praying that he would command him to go over. That this might be the more successful, Sir Henry Wotton was moved to give His Majesty a true account of him, which he did in the following letter :—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST GRACIOUS
MAJESTY,

"HAVING been informed, that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh, been directed hither with a most humble petition unto your Majesty, that you will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedell (now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk) Governor of your College at Dublin, for the good of that Society; and myself being required to render unto your Majesty some testimony of the said William Bedell, who was long my Chaplain at Venice, in the time of my employment there, I am bound in all conscience and truth (so far as your Majesty will accept of my poor judgment) to affirm of him, that I think hardly a fitter man could have been propounded to your Majesty in your whole kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rites of the Church, and zeal to advance the cause of God; wherein his travels abroad were not obscure, in the time of the excommunication of the Venetians. For, may it please your Majesty to know, that this is the man whom Father Paul took, I may say, into his very soul; with whom he did communicate the inward thoughts of his heart; from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastic and positive, than from any that he had practised in his days: of which all the passages were well known unto

the King your father, of blessed memory. And so with your Majesty's good favour, I will end this needless office ; for the general fame of his learning, his life, and Christian temper, and those religious labours which himself hath dedicated to your Majesty, do better describe him than I am able."

But when this matter was proposed to Mr. Bedell, he expressed so much both of true philosophy and real Christianity in the answer that he made to so honourable an offer, that I will not undertake to give it otherwise than in his own words, taken from a letter which he wrote to one that had been employed to deal with him in this matter. The original of this and most of the other letters that I set down were found among the most reverend Primate Usher's papers, and were communicated to me by his reverend and worthy friend Dr. Parr.

" SIR,

" WITH my hearty commendations remembered, I have this day received both your letters, dated the 2d of this month : I thank you for your care and diligence in this matter. For answer whereof, although I could have desired so much respite as to have conferred with some of my friends, such as possibly do know the condition of that place better than I do, and my insuf-

ficiencies better than my Lord Primate ; yet since that I perceive by both your letters the matter requires a speedy and present answer, thus I stand. I am married, and have three children ; therefore if the place requires a single man, the business is at an end. I have no want, I thank my God, of any thing necessary for this life. I have a competent living of above a hundred pound a year, in a good air and seat, with a very convenient house near to my friends, a little parish, not exceeding the compass of my weak voice. I have often heard it, that changing seldom brings the better ; especially to those that are well. And I see well, that my wife (though resolving, as she ought, to be contented with whatsoever God shall appoint) had rather continue with her friends in her native country, than put herself into the hazard of the seas and a foreign land, with many casualties in travel, which she perhaps out of fear apprehends more than there is cause.

“ All these reasons I have, if I consult with flesh and blood, which move me rather to reject this offer : (yet with all humble and dutiful thanks to my Lord Primate for his mind and good opinion of me :) on the other side, I consider the end wherefore I came into the world, and the business of a subject to our Lord Jesus Christ, of a Minister of the Gospel, of a good patriot, and of an honest man. If I may be of any better use

to my country, to God's church, or of any better service to our common Master, I must close mine eyes against all private respects, and if God call me I must answer, 'Here I am.' For my part, therefore, I will not stir one foot, or lift up my finger for or against this motion ; but if it proceed from the Lord, that is, if those whom it concerns there do procure those who may command me here to send me thither, I shall obey, if it were not only to go into Ireland, but into Virginia ; yea, though I were not only to meet with troubles, dangers, and difficulties, but death itself, in the performance. Sir, I have as plainly as I can showed you my mind ; desiring you with my humble service to represent it to my reverend good Lord, my Lord Primate. And God Almighty direct this affair to the glory of his holy name, and have you in his merciful protection ; so I rest your loving friend.

"From BURY, March 6th, 1626."

The conclusion of this matter was, that the King, being well informed concerning him, commanded him to undertake this charge, which he cheerfully obeyed ; and set about the duties incumbent on him in such a manner as showed how well he had improved the long time of retirement that he had hitherto enjoyed, and how ripely he had digested all his thoughts and observations. He had hitherto lived as if he had

been made for nothing but speculation and study; and now when he entered upon a more public scene, it appeared that he understood the practical things of government and human life so well, that no man seemed to be more cut out for business than he was. In the government of the College, and at his first entry upon a new scene, he resolved to act nothing till he both knew the statutes of the house perfectly well, and understood well the tempers of the people; therefore when he went over first, he carried himself so abstractedly from all affairs, that he passed for a soft and weak man. The zeal that appeared afterwards in him showed, that this coldness was only the effect of his wisdom, and not of his temper; but when he found that some grew to think meanly of him, and that even Usher himself began to change his opinion of him, upon that when he went over to England, some months after, to bring his family over to Ireland, he was thinking to have resigned his new preferment, and to have returned to his benefice in Suffolk; but the Primate wrote so kind a letter to him, that as it made him lay down those thoughts, so it drew from him the following words in the answer which was written to him:—

“ Touching my return, I do thankfully accept your Grace’s exhortation, advising me to have faith in God, and not to consult with flesh and

blood, nor have mind of this country. Now I would to God, that your Grace could look into my heart, and see how little I fear lack of provision, or pass upon any outward thing in this world. My chief fear in truth was, and is, lest I should be unfit and unprofitable in the place ; in which case, if I might have a lawful and honest retreat, I think no wise man could blame me to retain it ; especially having understood that your Grace (whose authority I chiefly followed at the first) did from your own judgment, and that of other wise men, so truly pronounce of me, that I was a weak man. Now that I have received your letters so full of life and encouragement, it puts some more life in me. For sure it cannot agree with that goodness and ingenuity of yours, praised among all God's graces in you, by those that know you, to write one thing to me, and to speak another thing to others of me, or to go about to beguile my simplicity with fair words, laying in the mean while a net for my feet ; especially since my weakness shall in truth redound to the blaming of your own discretion in bringing me thither."

Thus was he prevailed on to resign his benefice, and carry his family to Ireland ; and then he applied himself, with that vigour of mind that was peculiar to him, to the government of the College.

He corrected such abuses as he found among

them ; he set such rules to them, and saw these so well executed, that it quickly appeared how happy a choice they had made. And as he was a great promoter of learning among them, so he thought his particular province was to instruct the house aright in the principles of religion. In order to this, he catechised the youth in the College once a week, and preached once a Sunday, though he was not obliged to it. And that he might acquaint them with a plain and particular body of divinity, he divided the Church Catechism into two-and-fifty parts, one for every Sunday ; and did explain it in a way so mixed with speculative and practical matters, that his sermons were both learned lectures of divinity, and excellent exhortations to virtue and piety. Many took notes of them, and copies of them were much inquired after ; for as they were fitted to the capacity of his hearers, so they contained much matter in them for entertaining the most learned. He had not stayed there above two years, when, by his friend Sir Thomas Jermyn's means, a patent was sent him to be Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, two contiguous sees in the province of Ulster. And in the letters by which the King signified his pleasure for his promotion, he likewise expressed his acceptance of the service he had done in the College, in very honourable terms as follows :—

“ And as we were pleased by our former gra-

cious letters to establish the said William Bedell, by our royal authority, in the Provostship of the said College of the blessed Trinity near Dublin, where we are informed, that, by his care and good government, there hath been wrought great reformation, to our singular contentment ; so we purpose to continue our care of that Society, being the principal nursery of religion and learning in that our realm ; and to recommend unto the College some such person from whom we may expect the like worthy effects for their good, as we and they have found from Mr. Bedell."

CHAPTER III.

AND now in the fifty-ninth year of his age, he entered upon a different course of life and employment, when it might have been thought that the vigour of his spirits was much broken and spent. But by his administration of his diocess, it appeared that there remained yet a vast force of spirit to carry him through those difficult undertakings, to which he found himself obliged by this new character ; which if it makes a man but a little lower than the angels, so that the term "angel" is applied to that office in Scripture, he thought it obliged him to an angelical course of life, and to divide his time, as much as could consist with the frailties and necessities of a body

made of flesh and blood, as those glorious spirits do, between the beholding the face of their Father which is in heaven, and the ministering to the heirs of salvation. He considered that the Bishop's office made him the shepherd of the inferior shepherds, if not of the whole diocess ; and therefore he resolved to spare himself in nothing, by which he might advance the interest of religion among them ; and he thought it a disingenuous thing to vouch antiquity for the authority and dignity of that function, and not at the same time to express those virtues and practices that made it so venerable among them ; since the forms of church-government must appear amiable and valuable to the world, not so much for the reasonings and arguments that learned men use concerning them, as for the real advantages that mankind derive from them. So that he determined with the great Nazianzen, "to give wings to his soul, to rescue it wholly from the world, and to dedicate it to God ;" and not to think it enough to perform his duty in such a manner as to pass through the rest of his life without reproach : for, according to that father, "this was to weigh our virtue by small weights ;" but in the language of that father, he resolved to live "as one that had got above his senses and all sensible things, that was recollected within himself, and had attained to a familiarity with divine matters, that so his mind

might be as an unsullied mirror, upon which he might receive and represent the impresses of God and divine things, unallied with the characters of lower objects." He saw he would fall under some envy, and meet with great oppositions; but he considered that as a sort of martyrdom for God, and resolved cheerfully to undergo whatsoever uneasy things he might be forced to suffer, in the discharge of his conscience and duty.

In laying open his designs and performances in this last and greatest period of his life, I have fuller materials than in the former parts. For my author was particularly known to him during a large part of it, and spent several years in his family; so that his opportunities of knowing him were as great as could be desired, and the Bishop was of so gentle a temper, and of so communicative a nature, that he easily opened himself to one that was taken into his alliance as well as into his heart, he being indeed a man of primitive simplicity. He found his diocess under so many disorders, that there was scarcely a sound part remaining. The revenue was wasted by excessive dilapidations, and all sacred things had been exposed to sale in so sordid a manner, that it was grown to a proverb. But I will not enlarge further on the ill things others had done, than as it is necessary to show the good things that were done by him. One of his cathedrals, Ardagh, was fallen down to the ground; and there was

scarcely enough remaining of both these revenues to support a Bishop that was resolved not to supply himself by indirect and base methods. He had a very small Clergy, but seven or eight in each diocess of good sufficiency ; but every one of these was multiplied into many parishes, they having many vicarages a-piece ; but being English, and his whole diocess consisting of Irish, they were barbarians to them ; nor could they perform any part of divine offices among them. But the state of his Clergy will appear best from a letter that he wrote to Archbishop Laud concerning it, which I shall here insert.

“ RIGHT REVEREND FATHER, MY HONOURABLE
GOOD LORD,

“ SINCE my coming to this place, which was a little before Michaelmas, (till which time, the settling of the state of the College, and my Lord Primate’s visitation, deferred my consecration,) I have not been unmindful of your Lordship’s commands, to advertise you, as my experience should inform me, of the state of the Church, which I shall now the better do, because I have been about my diocesses, and can set down, out of my knowledge and view, what I shall relate : and shortly, to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is very miserable. The cathedral church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by St. Patrick, together with the

Bishop's house there, down to the ground. The church here, built, but without bell or steeple, font or chalice. The parish churches all in a manner ruined, and unroofed, and unrepaired. The people, saving a few British planters here and there, (which are not the tenth part of the remnant,) obstinate recusants. A Popish Clergy more numerous by far than we, and in full exercise of all jurisdiction ecclesiastical, by their Vicar-General and officials ; who are so confident as they excommunicate those that come to our courts, even in matrimonial causes : which affront hath been offered myself by the Popish Primate's Vicar-General ; for which I have begun a process against him. The Primate himself lives in my parish, within two miles of my house ; the Bishop in another part of my diocess further off. Every parish hath its Priest ; and some two or three a-piece, and so their mass-houses also ; in some places mass is said in the churches. Friars there are in divers places, who go about, though not in their habit, and by their importunate begging impoverish the people ; who indeed are generally very poor, as from that cause, so, from their paying double tithes to their own Clergy and ours, from the dearth of corn, and the death of their cattle these late years, with the contributions to their soldiers and their agents : and, which they forget not to reckon among other causes, the oppression of the Court Ecclesiastical, which, in

very truth, my Lord, I cannot excuse, and do seek to reform. For our own, there are seven or eight Ministers in each diocess of good sufficiency; and (which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in Popery still) English, which have not the tongue of the people, nor can perform any divine offices, or converse with them; and which hold many of them two or three, four, or more vicarages a-piece: even the clerkships themselves are in like manner conferred upon the English; and sometimes two or three, or more, upon one man, and ordinarily bought and sold, or let to farm. His Majesty is now with the greatest part of this country, as to their hearts and consciences, King, but at the Pope's discretion.

“ WILLIAM KILMORE AND ARDAGH.

“ KILMORE, *April 1st, 1630.*”

Here was a melancholy prospect to a man of so good a mind, enough to dishearten him quite, if he had not had a proportioned degree of spirit and courage to support him under so much weight. After he had recovered somewhat of the spoils made by his predecessor, and so put himself into a capacity to subsist, he went about the reforming of abuses: and the first that he undertook was pluralities, by which one man had a care of souls in so many different places, that it was not possible to discharge his duty to them, nor to

perform those vows, which he made at his ordination, of feeding and instructing the flock committed to his care. And though most of the pluralists minded all their parishes alike, that is, they neglected all equally; yet he thought this was an abuse contrary both to the nature of ecclesiastical functions, to the obligations that the care of souls naturally imported, and to those solemn vows that Churchmen made at the altar when they were ordained. And he knew well that this corruption was no sooner observed to have crept into the Christian church, than it was condemned by the fourth General Council at Chalcedon. For when some that had removed from one diocess to another, continued to have their share in the dividend of the church which they had left, as well as of that to which they had gone; the Council decreed, that such transgressors should restore all that they had got from the church which they had left, and should be degraded if they refused to submit to this regulation. He thought it a vain and indeed an impudent thing, for a man to pretend that he answered the obligation of so sacred a trust, and so holy a vow, by hiring some mercenary Curate to perform offices: since the obligation was personal, and the ecclesiastical functions were not like the Levitical service in the temple, in which the observing their rites was all that was required. But the watching over souls had so many other

things involved in it, besides officiating according to the Rubric, that it drew this severe reflection from a witty man, in which though the wit of it may seem too pleasant for so serious a subject, yet it had too much sad truth under it: "That when such betrayers and abandoners of that trust which Christ purchased with his own blood, found good and faithful Curates that performed worthily the obligations of the pastoral care, the Incumbent should be saved by proxy, but be damned in person." Therefore the Bishop gathered a meeting of his Clergy, and in a sermon with which he opened it, he laid before them, both out of Scripture and antiquity, the institution, the nature, and the duties of the ministerial employment; and after sermon he spoke to them largely on the same subject in Latin, styling them, as he always did, his brethren and fellow-Presbyters: and exhorted them to reform that intolerable abuse, which as it brought a heavy scandal on the Church, and gave their adversaries great advantages against them; so it must very much endanger both their own souls, and the souls of their flocks. And to let them see that he would not lay a heavy burden on them, in which he would not bear his own share, he resolved to part with one of his bishoprics. For though Ardagh was considered as a ruined see, and had long gone as an accessory to Kilmore, and continues to be so still; yet since they were

really two different sees, he thought he could not decently oblige his Clergy to renounce their pluralities, unless he set them an example, and renounced his own ; even after he had been at a considerable charge in recovering the patrimony of Ardagh, and though he was sufficiently able to discharge the duty of both these sees, they being contiguous and small ; and though the revenue of both did not exceed a competency, yet he would not seem to be guilty of that which he so severely condemned in others : and therefore he resigned Ardagh to Dr. Richardson ; and so was now only Bishop of Kilmore. The authority of this example, and the efficacy of his discourse, made such an impression on his Clergy, that they all relinquished their pluralities.

The arguments that arise out of interest are generally much stronger than those of mere speculation, how well soever it be made out ; and therefore this concurrence that he met with from his Clergy in so sensible a point, was a great encouragement to him to go on in his other designs. There seemed to be a finger of God in it ; for he had no authority to compel them to it, and he had managed the minds of his Clergy so gently in this matter, that their compliance was not extorted, but both free and unanimous. For, one only excepted, they all submitted to it ; and he being Dean, exchanged his deanery with another ; for he was ashamed to live in the

diocese, where he would not submit to such terms, after both the Bishop himself and all his Clergy had agreed to them.

The condemning of pluralities was but the half of his project. The next part of it was to oblige his Clergy to reside in their parishes. But in this he met with a great difficulty. King James, upon the last reduction of Ulster after Tyrone's rebellion, had ordered glebe-lands to be assigned to all the Clergy ; and they were obliged to build houses upon them, within a limited time ; but in assigning those glebe-lands, the Commissioners that were appointed to execute the King's orders had taken no care of the conveniences of the Clergy. For in many places these lands were not within the parish ; and often they lay not all together, but were divided in parcels. So he found his Clergy were in a strait. For if they built houses upon these glebe-lands, they would be thereby forced to live out of their parishes ; and it was very inconvenient for them to have their houses remote from their lands. In order to a remedy to this, the Bishop, who had lands in every parish assigned him, resolved to make an exchange with them, and to take their glebe-lands into his own hands for more convenient portions of equal value that he assigned them ; and that the exchange might be made upon a just estimate, so that neither the Bishop nor the inferior Clergy might suffer by

it, he procured a commission from the Lord-Lieutenant, for some to examine and settle that matter, which was at last brought to a conclusion with so universal a satisfaction to his whole diocess, that, since the thing could not be finally determined without a great seal from the King, confirming all that was done, there was one sent over in all their names to obtain it ; but this was a work of time, and so could not be finished in several years, and the Rebellion broke out before it was fully concluded.

The Lord-Lieutenant at this time was Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, a name too great to need any enlargement or explanation : for his character is well known. At his first coming over to Ireland, he was possessed with prejudices against the Bishop upon the account of a petition sent up by the county of Cavan, to which the Bishop had set his hand, in which some complaints were made, and some regulations were proposed for the army ; which was thought an insolent attempt, and a matter of ill example. So that Strafford, who was severe in his administration, was highly displeased with him ; and when any commission or order was brought to him, in which he found his name, he dashed it out with his pen, and expressed great indignation against him. When the Bishop understood this, he was not much moved at it, knowing his own innocence ; but he took pru-

dent methods to overcome his displeasure. He did not go to Dublin upon his coming over, as all the other Bishops did, to congratulate him on his coming to the government ; but he wrote a full account of that matter to his constant friend, Sir Thomas Jermyn, who managed it with so much zeal, that letters were sent to the Deputy from the Court, by which he was so much mollified towards the Bishop, that he, going to congratulate, was well received, and was ever afterwards treated by him with a very particular kindness. So this storm went over, which many thought would have ended in imprisonment, if not in deprivation. Yet how much soever that petition was mistaken, he made it appear very plain that he did not design the putting down of the army ; for he saw too evidently the danger they were in from Popery, to think they could be long safe without it.

By his cutting off pluralities, there fell to be many vacancies in his diocese ; so the care he took to fill these comes to be considered in the next place. He was very strict in his examinations before he gave orders to any. He went over the Articles of the Church of Ireland so particularly and exactly, that one who was present at the ordination of him that was afterwards his Archdeacon, Mr. Thomas Price, reported that though he was one of the Senior Fellows of the College of Dublin, when the Bishop was Provost,

yet his examination held two full hours. And when he had ended any examination, which was always done in the presence of his Clergy, he desired every Clergyman that was present to examine the person further, if they thought that any material thing was omitted by him ; by which a fuller discovery of his temper and sufficiency might be made. When all was ended, he made all his Clergy give their approbation before he would proceed to ordination. For he would never assume that singly to himself, nor take the load of it wholly on his own soul. He took also great care to be well informed of the moral and religious qualities of those whom he ordained, as well as he satisfied himself by his examination of their capacity and knowledge. He had always a considerable number of his Clergy assisting him at his ordinations, and he always preached and administered the sacrament on those occasions himself. And he never ordained one a Presbyter till he had been at least a year a Deacon, that so he might have a good account of his behaviour in that lower degree, before he raised him higher. He looked upon that power of ordination as the most sacred part of a Bishop's trust, and that in which the laws of the land had laid no sort of imposition on them, so that this was entirely in their hands, and therefore he thought they had so much the more to answer for to God on that account ; and he weighed carefully in his

thoughts the importance of those words, "Lay hands suddenly on no man ; and be not a partaker of other men's sins." Therefore he used all the precaution that was possible for him in so important an affair. He was never prevailed on by any recommendations nor importunities to ordain any ; as if orders had been a sort of freedom in a company, by which a man was to be enabled to hold as great a portion of the ecclesiastical revenue as he could compass, when he was thus qualified. Nor would he ever ordain any without a title to a particular flock. For he thought a title to a maintenance was not enough ; as if the Church should only take care that none in orders might be in want ; but he saw the abuses of those emendicated titles, and of the vagrant Priests that went about as journeymen, plying for work, to the great reproach of that sacred employment ; and in this he also followed the rule set by the fourth General Council, that carried this matter so high as to annul all orders that were given without a particular designation of the place where the person was to serve. For he made the primitive times his standard, and resolved to come as near as he could, considering the corruption of the age in which he lived. He remembered well the grounds he went on, when he refused to pay fees for the title to his benefice in Suffolk ; and therefore took care that those who were ordained by him, or

had titles to benefices from him, might be put to no charge. For he wrote all the instruments himself, and delivered them to the persons to whom they belonged, out of his own hands, and adjured them, in a very solemn manner, to give nothing to any of his servants. And, that he might hinder it all that was possible, he waited on them always on those occasions to the gate of his house, that so he might be sure that they should not give any gratification to his servants. He thought it lay on him to pay them such convenient wages as became them, and not to let his Clergy be burdened with his servants. And indeed the abuses in that were grown to such a pitch, that it was necessary to correct them in so exemplary a manner.

His next care was to observe the behaviour of his Clergy : he knew the lives of Churchmen had generally much more efficacy than their sermons or other labours could have ; and so he set himself much to watch over the manners of his Priests ; and was very sensibly touched, when an Irishman said once to him in open court, “ that the King’s Priests were as bad as the Pope’s Priests.” These were so grossly ignorant, and so openly scandalous, both for drunkenness and all sorts of lewdness, that this was indeed a very heavy reproach. Yet he was no rude nor morose reformer, but considered what the times could bear. He had great tenderness for the weakness of his Clergy,

when he saw reason to think otherwise well of them : and he helped them out of their troubles, with the care and compassion of a father. One of his Clergy held two livings ; but had been persuaded by a gentleman of quality to farm them to him for less than either of them was worth ; and he acquainted the Bishop with this : who upon that wrote very civilly, and yet as became a Bishop, to the gentleman, persuading him to give up the bargain ; but having received a sullen and haughty answer from him, he made the Minister resign up both to him ; for they belonged to his gift, and he provided him with another benefice, and put two other worthy men in these two churches, and so he put an end both to the gentleman's fraudulent bargain, and to the Churchman's plurality. He never gave a benefice to any without obliging them by oath to perpetual and personal residence, and that they should never hold any other benefice with that. So when one Buchanan was recommended to him, and found by him to be well qualified, he offered him a collation to a benefice ; but when Buchanan saw that he was to be bound to residence, and not to hold another benefice, he that was already possessed of one, with which he resolved not to part, would not accept of it on those terms. And the Bishop was not to be prevailed with to dispense with it, though he liked this man so much the better because he found he was akin to the great

Buchanan, whose paraphrase of the Psalms he loved beyond all other Latin poetry. The Latin form of his collations concluded thus : “ Obtesting you in the Lord, and enjoining you, by virtue of that obedience which you owe to the great Shepherd, that you will diligently feed his flock committed to your care, which he purchased with his own blood ; that you instruct them in the catholic faith, and perform divine offices in a tongue understood by the people : and above all things that you show yourself a pattern to believers in good works ; so that the adversaries may be put to shame, when they find nothing for which they can reproach you.” He put all the instruments in one, whereas devices had been found out, for the increase of fees, to divide these into several writings : nor was he content to write this all with his own hand, but sometimes he gave induction likewise to his Clergy ; for he thought none of these offices were below a Bishop : and he was ready to ease them of charge all he could. He had by his zeal and earnest endeavours prevailed with all his Presbyters to reside in their parishes ; one only excepted, whose name was Johnston. He was of a mean education, yet he had very quick parts, but they lay more in mechanical than in spiritual architecture. For the Earl of Strafford used him for an engineer, and gave him the management of some great buildings that he was raising in the county

of Wicklow. But the Bishop finding the man had a very mercurial wit, and a great capacity, he resolved to set him to work, that so he might not be wholly useless to the Church ; and therefore he proposed to him the composing an universal character, that might be equally well understood by all nations ; and he showed him, that since there was already an universal mathematical character, received both for arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, the other was not impossible to be done. Johnston undertook it readily, and the Bishop drew for him a scheme of the whole work, which he brought to such perfection, that, as my author was informed, he put it under the press, but the Rebellion prevented his finishing it.

CHAPTER IV.

AFTER the Bishop had been for many years carrying on the reformation of his diocess, he resolved to hold a synod of all his Clergy, and to establish some rules for the better government of the flock committed to him. He appointed that a synod should be held thereafter once a year, on the second week of September ; and that, in the Bishop's absence, his Vicar-General, if he were a Priest, or his Archdeacon, should preside ; that,

no Vicar should be constituted after that, unless he were in orders, and should hold his place only during the Bishop's pleasure. He revived the ancient custom of Rural Deans, and appointed that there should be three for the three divisions of his diocess; who should be chosen by the Clergy, and should have an inspection into their deportment, and make report to the Bishop of what passed among them, and transmit the Bishop's orders to them; and that once a month the Clergy of each division should meet, and preach by turns, without long prayers or preambles; and that no excommunication should be made but by the Bishop in person, with the assistance of such of his Clergy as should be present. The rest related to some things of less importance, that required amendment. When the news of this was carried to Dublin, some said it was an illegal assembly, and that his presuming to make canons was against law, and brought him within the guilt of a *præmunire*. So that it was expected that he should be brought up as a delinquent, and censured in the Star-Chamber, or High Commission-Court: but others looked on what he had done as nothing but the necessary discharge of his Episcopal function. And it seemed strange if some rules laid down by common consent, for the better government of the diocess, should have furnished matter for an accusation or censure. His Archdeacon, tha-

was afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, gave such an account of this matter to the State, that nothing followed upon it. The Bishop had indeed prepared such a justification of himself as would have vindicated him fully before equitable judges, if he had been questioned for it. Archbishop Usher, who knew well how much he could say for himself upon this head, advised those that moved that he might be brought up upon it, to let him alone, lest he should be thereby provoked to say more for himself than any of his accusers could say against him.

When he made his visitations, he always preached himself, and administered the sacrament; and the business of his visitations was, what it ought truly to be, to observe the state of his diocess, and to give good instructions both to Clergy and laity. The visitations in Ireland had been matters of great pomp and much luxury, which lay heavy on the inferior Clergy. Some slight inquiries were made, and those chiefly for form's sake; and indeed nothing was so much minded, as that which was the reproach of them, the fees, that were exacted to such an intolerable degree, that they were a heavy grievance to the Clergy. And as the Bishop's visitation came about every year; so every third year the Archbishop made his metropolitical visitation, and every seventh year the King's visitation went round: and in all these, as they were then

managed, nothing seemed to be so much aimed at, as how to squeeze and oppress the Clergy, who were glad to purchase their peace by paying all that was imposed on them, by those severe exacters. These fees at visitations were not known in the primitive times, in which the Bishop had the whole stock of the church in his hands to defray what expense necessarily fell on him or his church. It is true, when the Metropolitan, with other Bishops, came and ordained the Bishop at his see, it was but reasonable that their expense should be discharged; and this came to be rated to a certain sum, and was called "the Inthronistick:" and when these grew unreasonably high, the Emperors reduced them to a certain proportion, according to the revenues of the sees. But when the Bishops and the inferior Clergy came to have distinct properties, then the Bishops exacted of their Clergy that which other vassals owed by their tenure to the Lord of the fee, which was the bearing the expense of their progress: but when they began first to demand those subsidies from their Clergy, that practice was condemned, and provision was made, that, in case a Bishop was so poor that he could not bear the charge to which his visitation put him, he should be supplied by the richer Bishops about him; but not prey upon his Clergy. And both Charles the Great, and his son Louis, took care to see this executed. Yet

this abuse was still kept up ; so that afterwards, instead of putting it quite down, it was only regulated, so that it might not exceed such a proportion ; but that was not observed : so that an arbitrary tax was in many places levied upon the Clergy. But our Bishop reformed all these excesses, and took nothing but what was by law and custom established, and that was employed in entertaining the Clergy : and when there was any overplus, he sent it always to the prisons, for the relief of the poor. At his visitation he made his Clergy sit all with him, and be covered, whenever he himself was covered. For he did not approve of the state in which others of his order made their visitations, nor the distance to which they obliged their Clergy. And he had that canon often in his mouth, "That a Presbyter ought not to be let stand after the Bishop was set." He was much troubled at another abuse, which was, that when the metropolitical and regal visitations went round, a writ was served on the Bishops, suspending their jurisdiction for that year. When this was first brought to him, he received it with great indignation, which was increased by two clauses in the writ : by the one it was asserted, "That in the year of the Metropolitan's visitation, the whole and entire jurisdiction of the diocess belonged to him ;" the other was the reason given for it, "Because of the great danger of the souls of the people :"

whereas, the danger of souls rises from that suspension of the Bishop's pastoral power, since during that year he either could not do the duty of a Bishop; or, if he would exercise it, he must either purchase a delegation to act as the Archbishop's deputy, and that could not be had without paying for it, or be liable to a suit in the Prerogative Court.

He knew the Archbishop's power over Bishops was not founded on divine or apostolical right, but on ecclesiastical canons and practice, and that it was only a matter of order, and that therefore the Archbishop had no authority to come and invade his pastoral office, and suspend him for a year. These were some of the worst of the abuses that the Canonists had introduced in the later ages; by which they had broken the Episcopal authority, and had made way for vesting the whole power of the Church in the Pope. He laid those things often before Archbishop Usher, and pressed him earnestly to set himself to the reforming of them, since they were done in his name, and by virtue of his authority deputed to his Chancellor, and to the other officers of the court, called the Spiritual Court. No man was more sensible of those abuses than Usher was; no man knew the beginning and progress of them better, nor was more touched with the ill effects of them; and, together with his great and vast learning, no man had a better soul and a more

apostolical mind. In his conversation, he expressed the true simplicity of a Christian. For passion, pride, self-will, or the love of the world, seemed not to be so much as in his nature ; so that he had all the innocence of the dove in him. He had a way of gaining people's hearts, and of touching their consciences, that looked like somewhat of the apostolical age revived. He spent much of his time in those two best exercises, secret prayer, and dealing with other people's consciences, either in his sermons or private discourses ; and what remained he dedicated to his studies, in which those many volumes that came from him showed a most amazing diligence and exactness, joined with great judgment : so that he was certainly one of the greatest and best men that the age, or perhaps the world, has produced. But no man is entirely perfect. He was not made for the governing part of his function. He had too gentle a soul to manage that rough work of reforming abuses ; and therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of reformation would come. He saw the necessity of cutting off many abuses, and confessed that the tolerating those abominable corruptions that the Canonists had brought in, was such a stain upon a Church that in all other respects was the best reformed in the world, that he apprehended it would bring a curse and ruin upon the whole constitution. But though he prayed for a more favourable

conjunction, and would have concurred in a joint reformation of these things very heartily ; yet he did not bestir himself suitably to the obligations that lay on him for carrying it on. And it is very likely that this sat heavy on his thoughts when he came to die ; for he prayed often, and with great humility, that God would forgive him his sins of omission, and his failings in his duty. It was not without great uneasiness to me that I overcome myself so far as to say any thing that may seem to diminish the character of so extraordinary a man, who in other things was beyond any man of his time ; but in this only he fell beneath himself. And those that upon all other accounts loved and admired him, lamented this defect in him ; which was the only alloy that seemed left, and without which he would have been held, perhaps, in more veneration than was fitting. His Physician, Dr. Bootius, a Dutchman, said truly of him, "If our Primate of Armagh were as exact a disciplinarian as he is eminent in searching antiquity, defending the truth, and preaching the Gospel, he might without doubt deserve to be made the chief Churchman of Christendom." But this was necessary to be told, since history is to be written impartially ; and I ought to be forgiven for taxing his memory a little, for I was never so tempted in any thing that I ever wrote to disguise the truth, as upon this occasion. Yet though Bishop Usher did not

much himself, he had a singular esteem for that vigour of mind which our Bishop expressed in the reforming these matters. And now I come to the next instance of his pastoral care, which made more noise, and met with more opposition, than any of the former.

He found his Court, that sat in his name, was an entire abuse. It was managed by a Chancellor, that had bought his place from his predecessor ; and so thought he had a right to all the profits that he could raise out of it, and the whole business of the Court seemed to be nothing but extortion and oppression. For it is an old observation, that men who buy justice will also sell it. Bribes went about almost barefaced, and the exchange they made of penance for money was the worst sort of simony ; being, in effect, the very same abuse that gave the world such a scandal when it was so indecently practised in the Church of Rome, and opened the way to the Reformation. For the selling of indulgences is really but a commutation of penance. He found the officers of the Court made it their business to draw people into trouble by vexatious suits, and to hold them so long in it that for three-pence worth of the tithe of turf, they would be put to five pounds' charge. And the most solemn and sacred of all the Church censures, which was excommunication, went about in so sordid and base a manner, that all regard to it, as it was a

spiritual censure, was lost ; and the effects it had in law made it be cried out on as a most intolerable piece of tyranny. The officers of the Court thought they had a sort of right to oppress the natives, and that all was well got that was wrung from them. And of all this the good Primate was so sensible, that he gives this sad account of the venality of all sacred things in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury : “ As for the general state of things here, they are so desperate, that I am afraid to write any thing thereof. Some of the adverse part have asked me the question, where I have heard or read before, that religion and men’s souls should be set to sale after this manner. Unto whom I could reply nothing, but that I had read in Mantuan that there was another place in the world where *cælum est venale, Deusquè* : ‘ both heaven and God himself are set to sale.’ ”

But our Bishop thought it not enough to lament this ; he resolved to do what in him lay to correct these abuses, and to go and sit and judge in his own Courts himself. He carried a competent number of his Clergy with him, who sat about him ; and there he heard causes, and by their advice he gave sentence. By this means so many causes were dismissed, and such a change was wrought in the whole proceedings of the Court, that, instead of being any more a grievance to the country, none were now grieved

by it but the Chancellor, and the other officers of the Court ; who saw their trade was sunk, and their profits were falling, and were already displeased with the Bishop for writing the titles to benefices himself, taking that part of their gain out of their hands. Therefore the Lay-Chancellor brought a suit against the Bishop into Chancery, for invading his office. The matter was now a common cause. The other Bishops were glad at this step our Bishop had made, and encouraged him to go on resolutely in it, and assured him they would stand by him ; and they confessed they were but half Bishops till they could recover their authority out of the hands of their Chancellors. But on the other hand all the Chancellors and Registers of Ireland combined together ; they saw this struck at those places which they had bought, valuing them according to the profits that they could make by them ; and it cannot be denied but they had reason to move, that, if their places were regulated, the money by which they had purchased that right to squeeze the country ought to have been restored. The Bishop desired that he might be suffered to plead his own cause himself ; but that was denied him, which he took ill. But he drew the argument that his Counsel made for him ; for it being the first suit that ever was of that sort, he was more capable of composing his defence than his Counsel could be.

He went upon these grounds,—that one of the most essential parts of a Bishop's duty was to govern his flock, and to inflict the spiritual censures on obstinate offenders ; that a Bishop could no more delegate this power to a layman than he could delegate a power to baptize or ordain, since excommunication and other censures were a suspending the rights of baptism and orders ; and, therefore, the judging of these things could only belong to him that had the power to give them ; and that the delegating that power was a thing null of itself. He showed, that feeding the flock was inherent and inseparable from a Bishop ; and that no delegation he could make could take that power from himself, since all the effect it could have was to make another his officer and deputy in his absence. From this he went to show how it had been ever looked on as a necessary part of the Bishop's duty, to examine and censure the scandals of his Clergy and laity in ancient and modern times ; that the Roman Emperors had by many laws supported the credit and authority of these Courts ; that since the practices of the Court of Rome had brought in such a variety of rules for covering the corruptions which they intended to support, then that which is in itself a plain and simple thing was made very intricate ; so that the canon law was become a great study. And upon this account Bishops had taken civilians and canonists to be their assistants in those

Courts ; but this could be for no other end but only to inform them in points of law, or to hear and prepare matters for them. For the giving sentence, as it is done in the Bishop's name, so it is really his office, and is that for which he is accountable both to God and man. And since the law made those to be the Bishops' Courts, and since the King had by patent confirmed that authority which was lodged in him by his office of governing those Courts, he thought all delegations that were absolute and exclusive of the Bishop ought to be declared void. The reader will perhaps judge better of the force of this argument than the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Bolton, did ; who confirmed the Chancellor's claim, and gave him an hundred pound costs of the Bishop. But when the Bishop asked him how he came to make so unjust a decree, he answered, that all that his father had left him was a Register's place ; so he thought he was bound to support those Courts, which he saw would be ruined if the way he took had not been checked. This my author had from the Bishop's own mouth.

But as this matter was a leading case, so great pains were taken to possess the Primate against the Bishop ; but the following letter will best discover the grounds on which he went, and that noble temper of mind that supported him in so great an undertaking :—

" MOST REVEREND FATHER, MY HONOURABLE
GOOD LORD,

" THE report of your Grace's indisposition, how sorrowful it was to me, the Lord knows. Albeit the same was somewhat mitigated by other news of your better estate. In that fluctuation of my mind (perhaps like that of your health) the saying of the Apostle served me for an anchor, 'That none of us liveth to himself, neither doth any die to himself. For whether we live, we live to the Lord; or whether we die, we die to the Lord. Whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's.' Thereupon from the bottom of my heart commanding your estate and that of the Church here (which how much it needs you He knows best) to our common Master, though I had written large letters to you, which have lain by me sundry weeks, fearing in your sickness to be troublesome; I thought not to send them, but to attend some other opportunity after your present recovery to send or perhaps bring them: when I understood by Mr. Dean of his journey, or at least sending an express messenger to you with other letters; putting me also in mind, that perhaps it would not be unwelcome to you to hear from me, though you forbear to answer. I yielded to the example and condition, so much the rather, because I remembered myself a debtor to your Grace by my promise of writing to you more fully touching

the reasons of my difference with Mr. Cooke, and now a suitor in your Court at his instance.

“ And, first :—I beseech your Grace, let it be a matter merely of merriment, that I skirmish a little with your Court touching the inhibition and citation which thence proceeded against me, as you shall perceive by the inclosed recusation. For the thing itself, as I have written, I do submit it wholly to your Grace’s decision. And to enlarge myself a little, not as to a judge, but a father, to whom, besides the bond of your undeserved love, I am bound also by an oath of God ; I will pour out my heart unto you, even without craving pardon of my boldness. It will be perhaps some little diversion of your thoughts from your own infirmity, to understand that you suffer not alone, but you in body, others otherwise ; each must bear his cross, and follow the steps of our high Master. My Lord, since it pleased God to call me to this place in this Church, what my intentions have been to the discharge of my duty He best knows. But I have met with many impediments and discouragements ; and chiefly from them of mine own profession in religion. Concerning Mr. Hoile, I acquainted your Grace : Sir Edward Bagshaw, Sir Francis Hamilton, Mr. William Flemming, and divers more, have been, and yet are, pulling from the rights of my Church. But all these have been light in respect of the dealing of some others, professing me

kindness, by whom I have been blazed a Papist, an Arminian, a neuter, a politician, an equivocator, a niggardly house-keeper, an usurer ; that I bow at the name of Jesus, pray to the east, would pull down the seat of my predecessor to set up an altar, denied burial in the chancel to one of his daughters ; and, to make up all, that I compared your Grace's preaching to one Mr. Whiskins's, Mr. Creighton's, and Mr. Baxter's, and preferred them ; that you found yourself deceived in me. These things have been reported at Dublin, and some of the best-affected of mine own diocess (as hath been told me) induced hereby to bewail with tears the misery of the Church ; some of the Clergy also, as it was said, looking about how they might remove themselves out of this country. Of all this I heard but little, till Mr. Price, coming from Dublin before Christmas to be ordered Deacon, having for his memory set down twelve articles, among a number of points more, required satisfaction of me concerning them. Which I endeavoured to give both to him, and to them of the ministry, that met at our Chapter for the examination of Mr. Cooke's patent. Omitting all the rest ; yet because this venom hath spread itself so far, I cannot but touch the last, touching the preferring others' to your Grace's preaching. To which Mr. Price's answer was, as he told me, 'I will be quartered if this be true.' Thus it was :—Mr.

Dunsterville acquainted me with his purpose to preach out of Proverbs xx. 6, ‘But a faithful man who can find?’ where he said the doctrine he meant to raise was this, that faith is a rare gift of God. I told him I thought he mistook the meaning of the text, and wished him to choose longer texts, and not bring his discourses to a word or two of Scripture; but rather to declare those of the Holy Ghost. He said your Grace did so sometimes. I answered there might be just cause, but I thought you did not so ordinarily. As for those men, Mr. Whiskins and the rest, I never heard any of them preach to this day. Peradventure, their manner is to take longer texts, whereupon the comparison is made up as if I preferred them before you. This slander did not much trouble me. I know your Grace will not think me such a fool (if I had no fear of God) to prefer, before your excellent gifts, men that I never heard. But look, as the French proverb is, ‘He that is disposed to kill his dog, tells men he is mad.’ And whom men have once wronged, unless the grace of God be the more, they ever hate. Concerning the wrongs which these people have offered me, I shall take another fit time to inform your Grace. Where they say your Grace doth find yourself deceived in me, I think it may be the truest word they said yet. For, indeed, I do think both you and many more are deceived in me, accounting me to

have some honesty, discretion, and grace, more than you will by proof find. But if, as it seems to me, that form hath this meaning, that they pretend to have undeceived you, I hope they are deceived : yea, I hope they shall be deceived, if by such courses as these they think to unsettle me ; and the devil himself also, if he think to dismay me.

“ I will go on in the strength of the Lord God, and remember his righteousness, even his alone, as by that reverend and good father my Lord of Canterbury, when I first came over, I was exhorted, and have obtained help of God to do to this day.

“ But had I not work enough before, but I must bring Mr. Cooke upon my top ? one that for his experience, purse, friends, in a case already adjudged, wherein he is engaged, not only for his profit, but reputation also, will easily no doubt overbear me. How much better to study to be quiet, and to do mine own business ; or, as I think Staupitius was wont to bid Luther, go into my study and pray ! My Lord, all these things came into my mind, and at the first I came with a resolution to take heed to myself, and, if I could, to teach others moderation and forbearance by mine own example. But I could not be quiet, nor without pity hear the complaints of those that resorted to me, some of them of mine own neighbours and tenants, called into

the Court, commonly by information of apparitors, holden there without just cause, and not dismissed without excessive fees, as they exclaimed. Lastly, one Mr. Mayot, a Minister of the diocese of Ardagh, made a complaint to me, that he was excommunicated by Mr. Cooke, notwithstanding, as I heard also by others, the correction of Ministers was excepted out of his patent. Whereupon I desired to see the patent, and to have a copy of it, that I might know how to govern myself. He said Mr. Ask, being then from home, should bring it to me at his return. Himself went to Dublin to the term. At the first view I saw it was a formless chaos of authority, conferred upon him against all reason and equity. I had, not long after, occasion to call the Chapter together at the time of ordination. I showed the original, being brought forth by Mr. Ask, desired to know if that were the Chapter seal, and these their hands ; they acknowledged their hands and seal, and said they were less careful in passing it, because they accounted it did rather concern my predecessor than them. I showed the false Latin, nonsense, injustice of it, prejudice to them, contrariety to itself, and the King's grant to me. I showed there were in one period above five hundred words, and, which passed the rest, hanging in the air without any principal verb. I desired them to consider if the seal hanging to it were the Bishop's seal ; they acknowledged it was not.

Therefore with protestation, that I meant no way to call in question the sufficiency of Mr. Cooke or his former acts, I did judge the patent to be void, and so declared it; inhibiting Mr. Cooke to do any thing by virtue thereof, and them to assist him therein. This is the true history of this business, howsoever Mr. Cooke disguise it. I suspend him not absent, and *indictā causā*; it was his commission, which was present, that I viewed, which, with the Chapter, I censured; which if he can make good, he shall have leave, and time, and place enough.

" And now to accomplish my promise, to relate to your Grace my purpose herein. My Lord, I do thus account, that to any work or enterprise, to remove impediments is a great part of the performance. And amongst all the impediments to the work of God amongst us, there is not any one greater than the abuse of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This is not only the opinion of the most godly, judicious, and learned men that I have known, but the cause of it is plain. The people pierce not into the inward and true reasons of things; they are sensible in the purse. And that religion that makes men that profess it, and shows them to be, despisers of the world, and so far from encroaching upon others in matter of base gain, as rather to part with their own, they magnify. This bred the admiration of the primitive Christians, and after of the Monks. Con-

trary causes must needs produce contrary effects. Wherefore let us preach never so painfully, and piously ; I say more, let us live never so blamelessly ourselves, so long as the officers in our Courts prey upon them, they esteem us no better than publicans and worldlings : and so much the more deservedly, because we are called ‘ spiritual men,’ and call ourselves ‘ reformed Christians.’ And if the honestest and best of our own Protestants be thus scandalized, what may we think of Papists, such as are all, in a manner, that we live among ? The time was when I hoped the Church of Ireland was free from this abuse, at least freer than her sister of England : but I find I am deceived ; whether it be that distance of place, and being further out of the reach of the sceptre of justice, breeds more boldness to offend, or necessarily brings more delay of redress. I have been wont also in Ireland to except one Court, (as he doth Plato,) but trust me, my Lord, I have heard that it is said among great personages here, that my Lord Primate is a good man, but his Court is as corrupt as others. Some say worse,—and which, I confess to your Grace, did not a little terrify me from visiting till I might see how to do it with fruit,—that of your late visitation they see no profit but the taking of money.

“ But to come to Mr. Cooke, of all that have exercised jurisdiction in this land these late years, he is the most noted man, and most cried

out upon. Insomuch as he hath found from the Irish the nickname of Pouc; albeit he came off with credit when he was questioned, and justified himself by the table of fees, as by a leaden rule any stone may be approved as well as hewed. By that little I met with since I came hither, I am induced to believe it was not for lack of matter, but there was some other course of his escaping in that trial. By this pretended commission, and that table of fees, he hath taken, in my predecessor's time, and seeks to take in mine,—for exhibits at visitations, and his charges there above the Bishop's procurations for unions, sequestrations, relaxations, certificates, licences, permutations of penance, sentences, (as our Court calls them,) interlocutory in causes of corrections, such fees as I cannot in my conscience think to be just. And yet he doth it in my name, and tells me I cannot call him into question for it. Alas, my Lord ! if this be the condition of a Bishop, that he standeth for a cipher, and only to uphold the wrongs of other men, what do I in this place ? Am I not bound by my profession made to God in your presence, and following your words, to be gentle and merciful for Christ's sake to poor and needy people, and such as be destitute of help ? Can I be excused another day, with this, that thus it was ere I came to this place, and that it is not good to be over just ? Or, sith I am persuaded Mr. Cooke's patent is

unjust and void, am I not bound to make it so ? and to regulate, if I may, this matter of fees, and the rest of the disorders of the jurisdiction, which His Majesty hath entrusted me withal ? Your Grace saith, ‘ Truly it is a difficult thing, if not impossible, to overthrow a patent so confirmed ; ’ and I know in deliberations it is one of the most important considerations, what we may hope to effect. But how can I tell till I have tried ? To be discouraged ere I begin, is it not to consult with flesh and blood ? Verily I think so. And therefore must put it to the trial, and leave the success to God. If I obtain the cause, the profit shall be to this poor nation ; if not, I shall show my consent to those my reverend brethren that have endeavoured to redress this enormity before me ; I shall have the testimony of mine own conscience, to have sought to discharge my duty to God and his people. Yea, which is the main, the work of my ministry and service to this nation shall receive furtherance, howsoever, rather than any hinderance thereby. And if, by the continuance of such oppressions, any thing fall out otherwise than well, I shall have acquitted myself towards His Majesty and those that have engaged themselves for me. At last I shall have the better reason and juster cause to resign to His Majesty the jurisdiction which I am not permitted to manage. And here I beseech your Grace, to consider seriously, whether it were not

happy for us to be rid of this charge, which, not being proper to our calling, is not possible to be executed without such deputies, as subject us to the ill conceit of their unjust or indiscreet carriage, and no way further our own work ? Or if it shall be thought fit to carry this load still, whether we ought not to procure some way to be discharged of the envy of it, and redress the abuse, with the greatest strictness we can devise ? For my part, I cannot bethink me of any course fitter for the present, than to keep the Courts myself, and set some good order in them. And to this purpose I have been at Cavan, Belturbet, Granard, and Longford, and do intend to go to the rest, leaving with some of the ministry there a few rules touching those things that are to be redressed, that if my health do not permit me to be always present, they may know how to proceed in my absence. I find it to be true that Tully saith, *Justitia mirifica quædam res multitudini* ; and certainly to our proper work a great advantage it is to obtain a good opinion of those we are to deal with. But besides this there fall out occasions to speak of God and his presence, of the religion of a witness, the danger of an oath, the purity of a marriage, the preciousness of a good name, repairing of churches, and the like. Penance itself may be enjoined, and penitents reconciled, with some profit to others besides themselves.

“ Wherefore, albeit Mr. Cooke were the justest Chancellor in this kingdom, I would think it fit for me, as things now stand, to sit in these Courts ; and the rather sith I cannot be heard in the pulpits to preach as I may in them ; albeit innocence and justice is also a real kind of preaching. I have showed your Grace my intentions in this matter. Now should I require your direction in many things, if I were present with you. But for the present it may please you to understand, that at Granard, one Mr. Nugent, a nephew as I take it to my Lord of Westmeath, delivered his letter to Mr. Ask, which he delivered me in open Court, requiring that his tenants might not be troubled for christenings, marriages, or funerals, so they pay the Minister his due. This referred to a letter of my Lord Chancellor’s to the like purpose, which yet was not delivered till the Court was risen. I answered generally, that none of my Lord’s tenants or others should be wronged. The like motion was made at Longford, by two or three of the Farralls, and one Mr. Fagarah, and Mr. Rosse, to whom I gave the like answer, and added, that I would be strict in requiring them to bring their children to be baptized, and marriages to be solemnized likewise with us, sith they acknowledged these to be lawful and true ; so as it was but wilfulness if any forbare. Here I desire your Grace to direct me. For to give way that

they should not be so much as called in question, seems to further the schism they labour to make. To lay any pecuniary mulct upon them, as the value of a licence for marriage, three-pence or four-pence for a christening, I know not by what law it can be done. To excommunicate them for not appearing or obeying, they being already none of our body, and a multitude ; it is to no profit, nay, rather makes the exacerbation worse.

“ Many things more I have to confer with your Grace about, which I hope to do *coram* ; as about the re-edifying of churches, or employing the mass-houses, (which now the State inquires of,) about books, Testaments, and the Common-Prayer book, which being to be reprinted would perhaps be in some things bettered : but especially about men to use them, and means to maintain them, now that our English have engrossed the livings. About the printing the Psalter, which I have caused to be diligently surveyed by Mr. James Nangle, who adviseth not to meddle with the verse, but set forth only the prose : which he hath begun to write out fair to the press. Mr. Murtagh King I have not heard of a long time : I hope he goeth on in the historical books of the Old Testament. Mr. Crian was with me about a fortnight after I came to Kilmore ; since, I heard not of him. Of all these things, if by the will of God I may make a journey over to you, we shall speak at full.

"As I was closing up these, this morning, there is a complaint brought me from Ardagham, that where in a cause matrimonial in the Court at Longford, a woman had proceeded thus far, as after contestation, the husband was enjoined to appear the next Court to receive a libel; one Shaw-oge, Mr. Ingawry, the Popish Vicar-General of Ardagham, had excommunicated her, and she was by one Hubart, and Mr. Calril a Priest, upon Sunday last, put out of the Church and denounced excommunicate. Herein, whether it were more fit to proceed against the Vicar and Priest by virtue of the last letters from the Council, or complain to them, I shall attend your Grace's advice. And now for very shame ceasing to be troublesome, I do recommend your Grace to the protection of our merciful Father, and rest, with my respective salutations to Mrs. Usher,

"Your Grace's in all duty,

"WILLIAM KILMORE AND ARDAGHEN.

"KILMORE, February 15th, 1629."

The other Bishops did not stand by our Bishop in this matter; but were contented to let him fall under censure, without interposing in it as in a cause of common concern: even the excellent Primate told him, the tide went so high that he could assist him no more; for he stood by him longer than any other of the order had done. But the Bishop was not disheartened by this.

And as he thanked him for assisting him so long, so he said he was resolved, by the help of God, to try if he could stand by himself. But he went home, and resolved to go on in his Courts as he had begun, notwithstanding this censure. For he thought he was doing that which was incumbent on him ; and he had a spirit so made, that he resolved to suffer martyrdom, rather than fail in any thing that lay on his conscience. But his Chancellor was either advised by those that governed the State, to give him no disturbance in that matter ; or was overcome by the authority he saw in him, that inspired all people with reverence for him : for as he never called for the hundred pounds costs, so he never disturbed him any more, but named a Surrogate, to whom he gave order to be in all things observant of the Bishop, and obedient to him : so it seems, that though it was thought fit to keep up the authority of the Lay Chancellors over Ireland, and not to suffer this Bishop's practice to pass into a precedent ; yet order was given underhand to let him go on as he had begun ; and his Chancellor had so great a value for him, that, many years after this, he told my author, that he thought there was not such a man on the face of the earth as Bishop Bedell was ; that he was too hard for all the civilians in Ireland, and that if he had not been borne down by mere force, he had overthrown the Consistorial Courts, and had

recovered the Episcopal jurisdiction out of the Chancellors' hands. But now that he went on undisturbed in his Episcopal Court he made use of it as became him, and not as an engine to raise his power and dominion ; but considering that all church power was for edification, and not for destruction, he both dispensed that justice that belonged to his Courts equally and speedily, and cut off many fees and much expense, which made them be formerly so odious : and also when scandalous persons were brought before him to be censured, he considered that Church censures ought not to be like the acts of tyrants, that punish out of revenge, but like the discipline of parents, that correct in order to the amendment of their children ; so he studied chiefly to beget in all offenders a true sense of their sins. Many of the Irish Priests were brought oft into his Courts for their lewdness ; and upon that he took occasion with great mildness, and without scoffing or insultings, to make them sensible of that tyrannical imposition in their Church, in denying their Priests leave to marry, which occasioned so much impurity among them ; and this had a good effect on some.

CHAPTER V.

This leads me to another part of the Bishop's character, that must represent the care which he took of the natives. He observed, with much regret, that the English had all along neglected the Irish ; and that the Clergy had scarcely considered them as a part of their charge ; but had left them wholly in the hands of their own Priests, without taking any other care of them but the making them pay their tithes. And indeed their Priests were a strange sort of people, that knew generally nothing but the reading their offices, which were not so much as understood by many of them ; and they taught the people nothing but the saying their Paters and Aves in Latin. So that the state both of the Clergy and laity was such, that it could not but raise great compassion in a man that had so tender a sense of the value of those souls that Christ had purchased with his blood : therefore he resolved to set about that apostolical work of converting the natives with the zeal and care that so great an undertaking required. He knew that the gaining on some of the more knowing of their Priests was like to be the quickest way ; for by their means he hoped to spread the knowledge of the Reformed religion among the natives ; or rather of the Christian religion, to speak more

strictly. For they had no sort of notion of Christianity; but only knew that they were to depend upon their Priests, and were to confess such of their actions, as they call sins, to them; and were to pay them tithes. The Bishop prevailed on several Priests to change; and he was so well satisfied with the truth of their conversion, that he provided some of them with ecclesiastical benefices: which was thought a strange thing, and was censured by many, as contrary to the interest of the English nation. For it was believed that all those Irish converts were still Papists at heart, and might be so much the more dangerous than otherwise, by that disguise which they had put on. But he, on the other hand, considered chiefly the duty of a Christian Bishop. He also thought that the true interest of England was to gain the Irish to the knowledge of religion, and to bring them by the means of that which only turns the heart to love the English nation. And so he judged; the wisdom of that course was apparent, as well as the piety of it: since such as changed their religion would become thereby so odious to their own Clergy, that this would provoke them to further degrees of zeal in gaining others to come over after them. And he took great care to work in those whom he trusted with the care of souls, a full conviction of the truth of religion, and a deep sense of the importance of it. And in this he was so happy, that of all the con-

verts that he had raised to benefices, there was but one only that fell back, when the Rebellion broke out : and he not only apostatized, but both plundered and killed the English among the first. But no wonder if one murderer was among our Bishop's converts, since there was a traitor among the twelve that followed our Saviour.

There was a convent of Friars very near him, on whom he took much pains, with very good success. That he might furnish his converts with the means of instructing others, he made a short catechism to be printed in one sheet, being English on the one page, and Irish on the other ; which contained the elements and most necessary things of the Christian religion, with some forms of prayer, and some of the most instructing and edifying passages of Scripture. This he sent about all over his diocese ; and it was received with great joy by many of the Irish, who seemed to be hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and received this beginning of knowledge so well, that it gave a good encouragement to hope well upon further endeavours.

The Bishop also set himself to learn the Irish tongue ; and though it was too late for a man of his years to learn to speak it, yet he came to understand it to such a degree, as to compose a complete grammar of it, (which was the first that ever was made, as I have been told,) and to be a critic in it. He also had Common Prayer read

in Irish every Sunday in his cathedral for the benefit of the converts he had made, and was always present at it himself; and he engaged all his Clergy to set up schools in their parishes: for there were so very few bred to read or write, that this obstructed the conversion of the nation very much. The New Testament and the book of Common Prayer were already put in the Irish tongue; but he resolved to have the whole Bible, the Old Testament as well as the New, put also into the hands of the Irish; and therefore he laboured much to find out one that understood the language so well that he might be employed in so sacred a work. And by the advice of the Primate, and several other eminent persons, he pitched on one King, that had been converted many years before, and was believed to be the most elegant writer of the Irish tongue then alive, both for prose and poetry. He was then about seventy; but notwithstanding his age, and the disadvantages of his education, yet the Bishop thought him not only capable of this employment, but qualified for a higher character; therefore he put him in orders, and gave him a benefice in his diocese, and set him to work, in order to the translating the Bible: which he was to do from the English translation; since there were none of the nation to be found that knew anything of the originals. The Bishop set himself so much to the revising this work, that always after

dinner or supper he read over a chapter ; and as he compared the Irish translation with the English, so he compared the English with the Hebrew and the Seventy interpreters, or with Diodati's Italian translation, which he valued highly ; and he corrected the Irish where he found the English translators had failed. He thought the use of the Scriptures was the only way to let the knowledge of religion in among the Irish, as it had first let the Reformation into the other parts of Europe : and he used to tell a passage of a sermon that he heard Fulgentio preach at Venice, with which he was much pleased. It was on these words of Christ, " Have ye not read ? " and so he took occasion to tell the auditory, that if Christ were now to ask this question, " Have ye not read ? " all the answer they could make to it was, " No, for they were not suffered to do it." Upon which, he taxed with great zeal the restraint put on the use of the Scriptures by the see of Rome. This was not unlike what the same person delivered in another sermon, preaching upon Pilate's question, " What is truth ? " he told them that at last, after many searches, he had found it out, and held out a New Testament, and said, there it was in his hand ; but then he put it in his pocket, and said coldly, " But the book is prohibited ; " which was so suited to the Italian genius, that it took mightily with the auditory. The Bishop had observed that in the

primitive times, as soon as nations, how barbarous soever they were, began to receive the Christian religion, they had the Scriptures translated into their vulgar tongues ; and that all people were exhorted to study them : therefore he not only undertook and began this work, but followed it with so much industry, that in a very few years he finished the translation ; and resolved to set about the printing of it : for the bargain was made with one that engaged to perform it. And as he had been at the great trouble of examining the translation, so he resolved to run the venture of the impression, and took that expense upon himself.

It is scarcely to be imagined what could have obstructed so great and so good a work. The Priests of the Church of Rome had reason to oppose the printing of a book that has been always so fatal to them ; but it was a deep fetch to possess Reformed Divines with a jealousy of this work, and with hard thoughts concerning it. Yet that was done ; but by a very well-disguised method : for it was said that the translator was a weak and contemptible man, and that it would expose such a work as this was to the scorn of the nation, when it was known who was the author of it. And this was infused both into the Earl of Strafford, and into the Archbishop of Canterbury : and a bold young man pretended a lapse of the benefice that the Bishop had given to the

translator, and so obtained a broad seal for it; though it was in the Bishop's gift. This was an abuse too common at that time, for licentious Clerks to pretend either that an Incumbent was dead, or that he had no good right to his benefice, or that he had forfeited it; and upon that to procure a grant of it from the King, and then to turn the Incumbent out of possession, and to vex him with a suit till they forced him to compound for his peace. So upon this occasion it was pretended that the translator had forfeited his living; and one Baily that had informed against him, came down with a grant of it under the great seal, and violently thrust him out of it. The Bishop was much touched with this, and cited Baily to appear before him. He had given him a vicarage, and had taken an oath of him never to hold another; so he objected to him both his violent and unjust intrusion into another man's right, and his perjury. Baily, to recover himself from the last, procured a dispensation from the Prerogative Court, notwithstanding his oath not to hold more benefices. The Bishop looked on this as one of the worst and most scandalous parts of Popery, to dissolve the most sacred of all bonds; and it grieved his soul to see so vile a thing acted in the name of Archbishop Usher, though it was done by his Surrogates. So without any regard to this, he served this obstinate Clerk with several canonical admonitions;

but finding him still hardened in his wickedness, he deprived him of the benefice he had given him, and also excommunicated him, and gave orders that the sentence should be published through the whole deanery: upon which Baily appealed to the Prerogative Court, and the Bishop was cited to answer for what he had done. He went and appeared before them, but declined their authority, and would not answer to them. He thought it below the office and dignity of a Bishop to give an account of a spiritual censure, that he had inflicted on one of his Clergy, before two laymen that pretended to be the Primate's Surrogates. He said the appeal from his sentence lay only to the Provincial Synod, or to the Archbishop's Consistory; and since the ground of Baily's appeal was the dispensation that they had given him from his oath, they could not be the competent judges of that, for they were parties. Upon these and other grounds he excepted to their authority. He was served with several citations to answer, and appeared upon every one of them: but, notwithstanding the highest contempts they put upon him, he showed no indecent passion, but kept his ground. In conclusion, he was declared contumax, and the perjured intruder was absolved from the sentence, and confirmed in the possession of his ill-acquired benefice. It may be easily imagined how much these proceedings were censured by all fair and

equitable men ; the constancy, the firmness, and the courage that the Bishop expressed being as much commended, as the injustice and violence of his enemies were cried out upon. The strangest part of this transaction was, that which the Primate acted, who, though he loved the Bishop beyond all the rest of the order, and valued him highly for the zealous discharge of his office, that distinguished him so much from others ; yet he could not be prevailed on to interpose in this matter, nor to stop the unjust prosecution that this good man had fallen under for so good a work. Indeed it went further ; for upon the endeavours he used to convert the Irish, and after he had refused to answer in the Archbishop's Court, it appears that he was in some measure alienated from him, which drew from the Bishop the following answer to a letter that he had from him :—

“ MOST REVEREND FATHER, MY HONOURABLE
GOOD LORD,

“ THE superscription of your Grace's letters was most welcome unto me, as bringing under your own hand the best evidence of the recovery of your health, for which I did and do give hearty thanks unto God. For the contents of them, as your Grace conceived, they were not so pleasant. ‘ But the wounds of a friend are faithful,’ saith the wise man ; sure they are no less painful than

any other. Unkindness cuts nearer to the heart than malice can do. I have some experience by your Grace's said letters, concerning which I have been at some debate with myself, whether I should answer them with David's demand, 'What have I now done?' or, as the wrongs of parents, with patience and silence. But Mr. Dean telling me, that this day he is going towards you, I will speak once, come of it what will.

" You write, that the course I took with the Papists was generally cried out against, neither do you remember in all your life that anything was done here by any of us at which the professors of the Gospel did take more offence, or by which the adversaries were more confirmed in their superstitions and idolatry; wherein you could wish that I had advised with my brethren before I would venture to pull down that which they have been so long a building. Again: what I did, you know, was done out of a good intention; but you were assured that my project would be so quickly refuted with the present success and event, that there would be no need my friends should advise me from building such castles in the air, &c.

" My Lord, all this is a riddle to me. What course I have taken with the Papists; what I have done at which your professors of the Gospel did take such offence, or the adversaries were so confirmed; what it is that I have adventured to

do ; or what piece so long a building, I have pulled down ; what those projects were, and those castles in the air so quickly refuted with present success, as the Lord knows, I know not. For truly since I came to this place, I have not changed one jot of my purpose, or practice, or course with Papists from that which I held in England, or in Trinity College, or found, I thank God, any ill success, but the slanders only of some persons discontented against me for other occasions. Against which I cannot hope to justify myself, if your Grace will give ear to private informations. But let me know, I will not say, my accuser, (let him continue masked till God discover him,) but my transgression, and have place of defence : and if mine adversary write a book against me, I will hope to bear it on my shoulder, and bind it to me as a crown.

“ For my recusation of your Court, and advertisement of what I heard thereof, I see they have stirred not only laughter but some coals too. Your Chancellor desires me to acquit him to you, that he is none of those officers I meant. I do it very willingly ; for I neither meant him nor any man else ; but thought it concerned your Grace to know what I credibly heard to be spoken concerning your Court. Neither, as God knows, did I ever think it was fit to take away the jurisdiction from Chancellors, and put it into the Bishops’ hands alone ; or so much as in a dream condemn those that

think they have reason to do otherwise, nor tax your Grace's visitation ; nor imagine you would account that to pertain to your reproof, and take it as a wrong from me, which, out of my duty to God and you, I thought was not to be concealed from you. I beseech you pardon me this one error,—*si unquam posthac*,—for that knave whom (as your Grace writes) they say I did absolve ; I took him for one of my flock, or rather Christ's, for whom he shed his blood. And I would have absolved Julian the Apostate under the same form. Some other passages there be in your Grace's letters, which I,—but I will lay mine hand upon my mouth, and, craving the blessing of your prayers, ever remain

“ Your Grace's poor brother, and humble
servant,

“ WILLIAM KILMORE.

“ KILMORE, March 29th, 1638.”

The malice of Mr. King's enemies was not satiated with spoiling him of his benefice. For often it falls out that those who have done acts of high injustice, seek some excuse for what they have done, by new injuries, and a vexatious prosecution of the injured person, designing, by the noise that such repeated accusations might raise, to possess the world with an opinion of his guilt ; which much clamour often produces ; and so to crush the person so entirely that he may never

again be in a capacity to recover himself, and to obtain his right, but be quite sunk by that vast increase of weight that is laid upon him. But I will give the reader a clearer view of this invidious affair from a letter which the Bishop wrote concerning it to the Earl of Strafford.

“RIGHT HONOURABLE, MY GOOD LORD,

“THAT which I have sometimes done willingly, I do now necessarily, to make my address to your Honour by writing. My unfitness for conversation heretofore hath pleaded for me; and now your Lordship’s infirmity allows, and in a sort enforces it. The occasion is, not my love of contention, which I have committed to God, or any other matter of profit, but God’s honour, and, as he is witness, yours. I have lately received letters from my Lord of Canterbury; whereby I perceive his Grace is informed that Mr. King, whom I employed to translate the Bible into Irish, is a man so ignorant that the translation cannot be worthy of public use in the Church, and besides, obnoxious, so as the Church can receive no credit from any thing that is his. And his Grace adds, that he is so well acquainted with your Lordship’s disposition, that he assures himself you would not have given away his living, had you not seen just cause for it. I account myself bound to satisfy his Grace herein, and desire, if I may be so happy, to do it by satisfying

you. I do subscribe to his Grace's assured persuasion that your Lordship, had you not conceived Mr. King to be such as he writes, would not have given away his living. But, my Lord, the greatest, wisest, and justest men do and must take many things upon the information of others, who themselves are men, and may, sometimes out of weakness or some other cause, be deceived. Touching Mr. King's silliness, which it concerns me the more to clear him of, that I be not accounted silly myself, I beseech your Lordship to take information, not by them which never saw him till yesterday, but by the ancient either Churchmen or Statesmen of this kingdom, in whose eyes he hath lived these many years, such as are the Lord Primate, the Bishop o Meath, the Lord Dillon, Sir James Ware, and the like. I doubt not but your Lordship shall understand that there is no such danger that the translation should be unworthy, because he did it; being a man of that known sufficiency, for the Irish especially, either in prose or verse, as few are his matches in the kingdom. And shortly, not to argue by conjecture and divination, let the work itself speak, yea, let it be examined *rigoroso examine*. If it be found approvable, let it not suffer disgrace from the small boast of the workman, but let him rather (as old Sophocles accused of dotage) be absolved for the sufficiency of the work. Touching his being obnoxious, it is

true that there is a scandalous information put in against him in the High Commission Court, by his despoiler Mr. Baily, as my Lord of Derry told him in my hearing he was, and by an excommunicate despoiler, as myself before the execution of any sentence declared him in the Court to be. And Mr. King being cited to answer, and not appearing, as by law he was not bound, was taken *pro confesso*, deprived of his ministry and living, fined an hundred pounds, decreed to be attached, and imprisoned. His adversary, Mr. Baily, before he was sentenced, purchased a new dispensation to hold his benefice, and was, the very next day after, (as appears by the date of institution,) both presented in the King's title, although the benefice be of my collation, and instituted by my Lord Primate's Vicar ; shortly after inducted by an Archdeacon of another diocese ; and a few days after, he brought down an attachment, and delivered Mr. King to the pursuivant. He was haled by the head and feet to horseback, and brought to Dublin, where he hath been kept and continued under arrest these four or five months, and hath not been suffered to purge his supposed contempt, by oath and witnesses, that by reason of his sickness he was hindered, whereby he was brought to death's door, and could not appear and prosecute his defence ; and that by the cunning of his adversary he was circumvented, entreating that he

might be restored to liberty, and his cause into the former estate. But it hath not availed him : my reverend colleagues of the High Commission do some of them pity his case ; others say the sentence past cannot be reversed, lest the credit of the Court be attached. They bid him simply submit himself, and acknowledge his sentence just. Whereas the Bishops of Rome themselves, after most formal proceedings, do grant *restitucionem in integrum*, and acknowledge that *sententia Romanae sedis potest in melius commutari*. My Lord, if I understand what is right, divine or human, these be wrongs upon wrongs ; which if they reached only to Mr. King's person were of less consideration ; but when, through his side, that great work, the translation of God's book, so necessary for both His Majesty's kingdoms, is mortally wounded, pardon me, I beseech your Lordship, if I be sensible of it. I omit to consider what feast our adversaries make of our rewarding him thus for that service ; or what this example will avail to the alluring of others to conformity. What should your Lordship have gained if he had died (as it was almost a miracle he did not) under arrest, and had been at once deprived of living, liberty, and life. God hath reprieved him, and given your Lordship means, upon right information, to remedy with one word all inconveniences.

“ For conclusion, good my Lord, give me leave

a little to apply the parable of Nathan to King David to this purpose : if the way-faring man that is come to us (for such he is, having never yet been settled in one place) have so sharp a stomach that he must be provided for with pluralities, since there are herds and flocks plenty ; suffer him not, I beseech you, under the colour of the King's name, to take the cosset ewe of a poor man to satisfy his ravenous appetite. So I beseech the Heavenly Physician to give your Lordship health of soul and body. I rest,

“ My Lord, your Lordship's most humble
servant in Christ Jesus,

“ WILLIAM KILMORE.

“ December 1st, 1638.”

By these practices was the printing of the Bible in Irish stopped at that time : but if the rebellion had not prevented our Bishop, he was resolved to have had it done in his own house, and at his own charge ; and as preparatory to that, he made some of Chrysostom's homilies, the three first upon the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, together with some of Leo's,—all which tended chiefly to commend the Scriptures in the highest strains of eloquence that were possible,—to be translated both into English and Irish ; and reprinting his Catechism, he added these to it in both languages ; and these were very well received, even by the Priests and Friars themselves.

He lived not to finish this great design : yet notwithstanding the rebellion and confusion that followed in Ireland, the manuscript of the translation of the Bible escaped the storm ; and, falling into good hands, was put to the press, chiefly by the zeal and at the charge of that noble Christian philosopher, Mr. Boyle, who, as he reprinted upon his own charge the New Testament, so he very cheerfully went into a proposition for printing the Old. But this is only one of many instances, by which he has expressed as well his great and active zeal for carrying on the true interest of religion, as by his other public labours he has advanced and improved philosophy.

CHAPTER VI.

BISHOP BEDELL was exactly conformable to the forms and rules of the Church : he went constantly to Common-Prayer in his cathedral, and often read it himself, and assisted in it always, with great reverence and affection. He took care to have the public service performed strictly according to the Rubric ; so that a Curate of another parish being employed to read prayers in the cathedral, that added somewhat to the Collects, the Bishop, observing he did this once or twice, went from his place to the Reader's pew, and took the

book out of his hand, and in the hearing of the congregation suspended him for his presumption, and read the rest of the office himself. He preached constantly twice a Sunday in his cathedral on the Epistles and Gospels for the day ; and catechised always in the afternoon before sermon ; and he preached always twice a year before the Judges, when they made the circuit. His voice was low and mournful ; but as his matter was excellent, so there was a gravity in his looks and behaviour that struck his auditors. He observed the Rubric so nicely, that he would do nothing but according to it ; so that in the reading the Psalms and the anthems he did not observe the common custom of the Minister and the people reading the verses by turns ; for he read all himself, because the other was not enjoined by the Rubric. As for the placing of the communion-table by the east wall, and the bowing to it, he never would depart from the rule of observing the conformity prescribed by law ; for he said, that they were as much nonconformists who added of their own, as they that came short of what was enjoined ; as he that adds an inch to a measure disowns it for a rule, as much as he that cuts an inch from it : and as he was severe to him that added words of his own to the Collect, so he thought it was no less censurable to add rites to those that were prescribed. When he came within the church, it appeared in the cam-

posedness of his behaviour, that he observed the rule given by the Preacher, of keeping his feet when he went into the house of God; but he was not to be wrought on by the greatness of any man, or by the authority of any person's example, to go out of his own way; though he could not but know that such things were then much observed, and measures were taken of men by these little distinctions, in which it was thought that the zeal of conformity discovered itself.

He preached very often in his Episcopal habit, but not always, and used it seldom in the afternoon; nor did he love the pomp of a choir, nor instrumental music; which he thought filled the ear with too much pleasure, and carried away the mind from the serious attention to the matter, which is indeed the singing with grace in the heart, and the inward melody with which God is chiefly pleased. And when another Bishop justified these things, because they served much to raise the affections; he answered, that in order to the raising the affections, those things that tended to edification ought only to be used: and thought it would be hard otherwise to stop; for, upon the same pretence, an infinity of rites might be brought in. And the sense he had of the excesses of superstition, from what he had observed during his long stay in Italy, made him judge it necessary to watch carefully against the beginnings of that disease, which is like a green

sickness in religion. He never used the Common-Prayer in his family ; for he thought it was intended to be the solemn worship of Christians in their public assemblies, and that it was not so proper for private families. He was so exact an observer of ecclesiastical rules, that he would perform no part of his function out of his own diocese, without obtaining the Ordinary's leave for it ; so that, being in Dublin when his wife's daughter was to be married to Mr. Clogy, (who is much more the author of this book than I am,) and they both desired to be blessed by him, he would not do it till he first took out a licence for it in the Archbishop of Dublin's consistory.

So far I have prosecuted the relation of his most exemplary discharge of his Episcopal function ; reserving what is more personal and particular to the end, where I shall give his character. I now come to the conclusion of his life, which was indeed suitable to all that had gone before. But here I must open one of the bloodiest scenes that the sun ever shone upon, and represent a nation all covered with blood, that was in full peace, under no fears nor apprehensions, enjoying great plenty, and under an easy yoke, under no oppression in civil matters, nor persecution upon the account of religion : for the Bishops and Priests of the Roman communion enjoyed not only an impunity, but were almost as public in the use of their religion as others were in that

which was established by law; so that they wanted nothing but empire, and a power to destroy all that differed from them. And yet on a sudden this happy land was turned to be a field of blood. Their Bishops resolved in one particular to fulfil the obligation of the oath they took at their consecration of “ persecuting all heretics to the utmost of their power;” and their Priests, that had their breeding in Spain, had brought over from thence the true spirit of their religion, which is ever breathing cruelty, together with a tincture of the Spanish temper, that had appeared in the conquest of the West Indies, and so they thought a massacre was the surest way to work, and intended that the natives of Ireland should vie with the Spaniards for what they had done in America.

The conjuncture seemed favourable; for the whole isle of Britain was so embroiled, that they reckoned they should be able to master Ireland, before any forces could be sent over to check the progress of their butchery. The Earl of Strafford had left Ireland some considerable time before this. The Parliament of England was rising very high against the King; and though the King was then gone to Scotland, it was rather for a present quieting of things that he gave all up to them, than that he gained them to his service. So they laid hold of this conjuncture, to infuse it into the people, that this was the proper time for

them to recover their ancient liberty, and shake off the English yoke, and to possess themselves of those estates that had belonged to their ancestors : and to such as had some sense of duty to the King it was given out, that what they were about was warranted by his authority, and for his service. A seal was cut from another charter, and put to a forged commission, giving warrant to what they were going about. And because the King was then in Scotland, they made use of a Scotch seal. They also pretended that, the Parliaments of both kingdoms being either in rebellion against the King, or very near it, the English of Ireland would be generally in the interest of the English Parliament ; so that it was said, that they could not serve the King better than by making themselves masters in Ireland, and then declaring for the King against his other rebellious subjects.

These things took universally with the whole nation ; and the conspiracy was cemented by many oaths and sacraments, and in conclusion all things were found to be so ripe that the day was set in which they should every where break out : and the castle of Dublin being then as well stored with a great magazine, which the Earl of Strafford had laid up for the army that he intended to carry into Scotland, had not the pacification prevented it, as it was weakly kept by a few careless warders, who might have been

easily surprised ; it was resolved that they should seize on it, which would have furnished them with arms and ammunition, and have put the metropolis, and very probably the whole island, in their hands. But though this was so well laid, that the execution could not have missed, in all human appearance ; and though it was kept so secret, that there was not the least suspicion of any design on foot till the night before, and then one that was among the chief of the managers of it, out of kindness to an Irishman, that was become a Protestant, communicated the project to him : the other went and discovered it to the Lords Justices ; and by this means not only the castle of Dublin was preserved, but in effect Ireland was saved. For in Dublin there was both a shelter for such as were stripped and turned out of all they had, to fly to, and a place of rendezvous, where they that escaped before the storm had reached to them, met to consult about their preservation. But though Dublin was thus secured, the rest of the English and Scotch in Ireland, particularly in Ulster, fell into the hands of those merciless men, who reckoned it no small piece of mercy, when they stripped people naked and let them go with their lives. But the vast numbers that were butchered by them, which one of their own writers in a discourse that he printed some years after, in order to the animating them to go on, boasts to have exceeded two hundred

thousand, and the barbarous cruelties they used in murdering them are things of so dreadful a nature, that I cannot easily go on with so dismal a narrative, but must leave it to the historians. I shall say no more of it than what concerns our Bishop. It may be easily imagined how much he was struck with that fearful storm, that was breaking on every hand of him, though it did not yet break in upon himself. There seemed to be a secret guard set about his house: for though there was nothing but fire, blood, and desolation round about him; yet the Irish were so restrained, as by some hidden power, that they did him no harm for many weeks: his house was in no condition to make any resistance, so that it was not any apprehension of the opposition that might be made them, that bound them up. Great numbers of his neighbours had also fled to him for shelter: he received all that came, and shared every thing he had so with them, that all things were common among them; and now that they had nothing to expect from men, he invited them all to turn with him to God, and to prepare for that death which they had reason to look for every day; so that they spent their time in prayers and fasting, which last was now like to be imposed on them by necessity. The rebels expressed their esteem for him in such a manner that he had reason to ascribe it wholly to that overruling power that stills the raging of the seas,

and the tumult of the people : they seemed to be overcome with his exemplary conversation among them, and with the tenderness and charity that he had upon all occasions expressed for them ; and they often said, he should be the last Englishman that should be put out of Ireland. He was the only Englishman in the whole county of Cavan that was suffered to live in his own house without disturbance ; not only his house and all the outbuildings, but the church and churchyard, were full of people ; and many that a few days before lived in great ease and much plenty, were now glad of a heap of straw or hay to lie upon, and of some boiled wheat to support nature ; and were every day expecting when those swords that had, according to the prophetic phrase, drunk up so much blood, should likewise be satiated with theirs. They did now eat the bread of sorrow, and mingled their cups with their tears. The Bishop continued to encourage them to trust in God ; and in order to that, he preached to them the first Lord's day after this terrible calamity had brought them about him, on the third Psalm, which was penned by David when there was a general insurrection of the people against him under his unnatural son Absalom ; and he applied it all to their condition. He had a doleful assembly before him, an auditory all melting in tears : it requires a soul of an equal elevation to his, to imagine how he raised up

their spirits, when he spake to these words : “But thou, O Lord, art a shield for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my head. I laid me down, and slept : I awaked, for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid of ten thousands of the people, that have set themselves against me round about.” And to the conclusion of the Psalm, “Salvation belongeth unto the Lord : thy blessing is upon thy people.” The next Lord’s day, hearing of the scoffings, as well as the cruelty, of the Irish, he preached on these words in Micah, “Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy : when I fall, I shall arise ; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me : he will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness. Then she that is mine enemy shall see it ; and shame shall cover her which said unto me, Where is the Lord thy God ?” By these means, and through the blessing of God upon them, they encouraged themselves in God, and were prepared for the worst that their enemies could do to them.

The Irish themselves were at a stand. The miscarriage of the design on Dublin castle was a sad disappointment. They were unarmed, they had no treasure, no fleet, nor foreign support ; and though there were some good officers among

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The Irish themselves were at a stand. The miscarriage of the design on Dublin castle was a sad disappointment. They were unarmed, they had no treasure, no fleet, nor foreign support ; and though there were some good officers among

them, yet they found the soldiers to be as cowardly as the English inhabitants felt them to be cruel ; for as those two characters are observed generally to meet in the same person, so it was very visible upon this occasion, since a very small body of good men could have gone over the whole kingdom, and have reduced it in fewer months than it cost years. Their chief hope was, the only thing in which they were not disappointed, that the disputes between the King and the Parliament of England would make supplies come over so slow, that they might thereby gain much time ; and in conclusion they might hope for a more favourable conjuncture. Those of the county of Cavan seemed to see their error, and apprehend their danger ; so they came to the Bishop, as the fittest man to interpose for them. He was willing to oblige those on the one hand at whose mercy he was, and on the other hand to bring them to such a submission as might at least procure some breathing time to the poor English, and to those few houses that stood out, but were falling within doors under an enemy that was more irresistible than the Irish ; for they were much straitened, their provisions failing them. The petition that they signed and sent up to the Lords Justices and the Council was too well penned to come from those that set their hands to it. It was drawn by the Bishop, who put their matter in his own words ; therefore I shall

insert it here, though it gives the best colours to their rebellion of any of all their papers that I ever saw.

“ TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS JUSTICES AND COUNCIL,

“ THE humble remonstrance of the gentry and commonalty of the county of Cavan, of their grievances common with other parts of this kingdom of Ireland.

“ WHEREAS we, His Majesty’s loyal subjects of his Highness’s kingdom of Ireland, have of long time groaned under many grievous pressures occasioned by the rigorous government of such placed over us as respected more the advancement of their own private fortunes, than the honour of His Majesty, or the welfare of us his subjects, whereof we in humble manner declared ourselves to his Highness by our agents sent from the Parliament, the representative body of this kingdom ; notwithstanding which, we find ourselves of late threatened with far greater and more grievous vexations, either with captivity of our consciences, or losing of our lawful liberties, or utter expulsion from our native seats, without any just ground given on our parts to alter His Majesty’s goodness so long continued unto us; of all which we find great cause of fears in the proceeding of our neighbour nations, and we do see it already attempted upon by certain petitioners for the like course to be

taken in this kingdom, for the effecting thereof in a compulsory way, so as rumours have caused fears of invasion from other parts, to the dissolving the bond of mutual agreement which hitherto hath been held inviolable between the several subjects of this kingdom ; and whereby all other His Majesty's dominions have been linked in one. For the preventing therefore of such evils growing upon us in this kingdom, we have, for the preservation of His Majesty's honour and our own liberties, thought fit to take into our hands, for his Highness's use and service, such forts and other places of strength as coming into the possession of others might prove disadvantageous, and tend to the utter undoing the kingdom. And we do hereby declare, that herein we harbour not the least thought of disloyalty towards His Majesty, or purpose any hurt to any of His Highness's subjects in their possession, goods, or liberty ; only we desire that your Lordships will be pleased to make remonstrance to His Majesty for us, of all our grievances, and just fears, that they may be removed, and such a course settled by the advice of the Parliament of Ireland, whereby the liberty of our consciences may be secured unto us, and we eased of other burdens in civil government. As for the mischiefs and inconveniences that have already happened through the disorder of the common sort of people, against the English inhabitants, or any other, we, with

the noblemen and gentlemen, and such others of the several counties of this kingdom, are most willing and ready to use our and their best endeavours in causing restitution and satisfaction to be made, as in part we have already done.

“ An answer hereunto is most humbly desired, with such present expedition as may by your Lordships be thought most convenient for avoiding the inconvenience of the barbarousness and incivility of the commonalty, who have committed many outrages without any order, consenting, or privity of ours. All which we leave to your Lordships’ most grave wisdom.

“ And we shall humbly pray,” &c.

But this came to nothing. While these things were in agitation, the titular Bishop of Kilmore came to Cavan. His name was Swiney : he was like his name ; for he often wallowed in his own vomit. He had a brother, whom the Bishop had converted, and had entertained him in his house till he found out a way of subsistence for him. He pretended that he came only to protect the Bishop : so he desired to be admitted to lodge in his house, and assured him that he would preserve him. But the Bishop hearing of this, wrote a letter in Latin to him, in a style fit for one of the most eloquent of the Roman authors. I shall give a translation of it in English.

“REVEREND BROTHER,

“I AM sensible of your civility in offering to protect me by your presence in the midst of this tumult; and upon the like occasion I would not be wanting to do the like charitable office to you; but there are many things that hinder me from making use of the favour you now offer me. My house is strait, and there is a great number of miserable people of all ranks, ages, and of both sexes, that have fled hither as to a sanctuary; besides that some of them are sick, among whom my own son is one. But that which is beyond all the rest is the difference of our way of worship: I do not say of our religion; for I have ever thought, and have published it in my writings, that we have one common Christian religion. Under our present miseries we comfort ourselves with the reading of the holy Scriptures, with daily prayers, which we offer up to God in our vulgar tongue, and with the singing of Psalms; and since we find so little truth among men, we rely on the truth of God, and on his assistance. These things would offend your company, if not yourself; nor could others be hindered, who would pretend that they came to see you, if you were among us; and under that colour, those murderers would break in upon us, who, after they have robbed us of all that belongs to us, would, in conclusion, think they did God good service by our slaughter. For my own part, I

am resolved to trust to the divine protection. To a Christian, and a Bishop, that is now almost seventy, no death for the cause of Christ can be bitter; on the contrary, nothing is more desirable. And though I ask nothing for myself alone, yet if you will require the people under an anathema, not to do any other acts of violence to those whom they have so oft beaten, spoiled, and stripped, it will be both acceptable to God, honourable to yourself, and happy to the people, if they obey you. But if not, consider that God will remember all that is now done. To whom, reverend Brother, I do heartily commend you.

“Yours in Christ,

“WILLIAM KILMORE.

“November 2d, 1641.

“To my reverend and loving brother, D. Swiney.”

This letter commends itself so much, that I need say nothing but wish my reader to see where he can find such another, written on such an occasion, with so much spirit, as well as piety and discretion. It was the last he ever wrote, and was indeed a conclusion well becoming such a pen. It had, at that time, some effect; for the Bishop gave him no further disturbance till about five weeks after this, so that from the 23d of October, which was the dismal day in which the rebellion broke out, till the 18th of December

following, he, together with all that were within his walls, enjoyed such quiet, that if it was not in all points a miracle, it was not far from one ; and it seemed to be an accomplishment of those words : “ A thousand shall fall on thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand ; but it shall not come nigh thee ; there shall no evil befall thee ; for he shall give his angels charge over thee.”

To the former letter I shall add the last paper of spiritual advice and direction that ever the Bishop wrote, which he did at the desire of one Mrs. Dillan, that was a zealous and devout Protestant, but had been fatally deluded in her widowhood by Mr. Dillan, son to the Earl of Roscommon, taking him to be a Protestant, and had married him, but enjoyed herself very little after that : for though he used no violence to her, or her children by her former husband, in the point of religion ; yet he bred up his children by her in his own superstition, and he was now engaged in the rebellion. So that she had at this time a vast addition to her former sorrows upon her ; and therefore desired that the Bishop, whose neighbour and constant hearer she had been, would send her such instructions in this sad calamity as might both direct and support her. Upon which he wrote the following paper :—

“ You desire, as I am informed, dear sister in Christ Jesus, that I would send you some short me-

memorial, to put you in mind how to carry yourself in this sorrowful time. I will do it willingly ; the more, because with one and the same labour I shall both satisfy you, and recollect my own thoughts also, to the like performance of mine own duty : and bethinking myself how I might best accomplish it, there came to my mind that short rule of our life, which the Apostle mentions in his Epistle to Titus, and whereof you have been a diligent hearer in the school of grace, where he reduceth the whole practice of Christianity unto three heads, of living soberly, justly, and godly ; this last directing our carriage towards God, the middlemost towards our neighbour, and the foremost towards ourselves. Now since this is a direction for our whole life, it seems to me that we have no more to do at any time, but to con this lesson more perfectly, with some particular application of such parts of it as are most suitable to the present occasions. And as to sobriety, first, (under which the virtues of humility, modesty, temperance, chastity, and contentedness are contained,) since this is a time wherein, as the Prophet saith, ‘the Lord of hosts calleth to weeping and mourning, and pulling off the hair, and girding with sackcloth,’ you shall, by my advice, conform yourself to those that by the hand of God suffer such things. Let your apparel and dress be mournful, as I doubt not but that your mind is ; your diet sparing and

coarse, rather than full and liberal ; frame yourself to the indifference whereof the Apostle speaketh, ‘ In whatsoever state you shall be, therewith be content ;’ to be full, and to be hungry ; to abound, and to want. Remember now, that which is the lot of others you know not how soon it may be your own. Learn to despise and defy the vain and falsely-called wealth of this world, whereof you now see we have so casual and uncertain a possession.

“ This for sobriety, the first part of the lesson pertaining to yourself.

“ Now for justice, which respects others, and containeth the virtues of honour to superiors, discreet and equal government of inferiors, peaceableness to all, meekness, mercy, just dealing in matters of getting and spending, gratitude, liberality, just speech and desires. God’s judgments being in the earth, the inhabitants of the world should learn righteousness, as the Prophet speaketh : call to mind, therefore, and bethink you, if in any of these you have failed, and turn your feet to God’s testimonies. Certainly these times are such, wherein you may be afflicted, and say with the Psalmist, ‘ Horror hath taken hold of me, and rivers of tears run down mine eyes, because they keep not thy laws.’ Rebellion against superiors, misleading, not only by example, but by compulsion, inferiors, laying their hand to them that were at peace with them, unjustly

spoiling and unthankfully requiting those that had showed them kindness, no faith nor truth in their promises ; judge by the way of the school that teaches Christ thus ; are these his doings ? As for those that suffer, I am well assured I shall not need to inform you, or stir you up to mercy and compassion. That which is done in this kind, is done to Christ himself, and shall be put upon account in your reckoning. and rewarded accordingly at his glorious appearance.

“ The last and principal part of our lesson remains, which teacheth how to behave ourselves godly, or religiously. To this belong, first, the duties of God’s inward worship, as fear, love, and faith in God ; then outward, as invocation, the holy use of his words and sacraments, name and Sabbaths. The Apostle makes it the whole end and work for which we were set in this world, to seek the Lord ; yet in public affliction we are specially invited thereto, as it is written of Jehos-haphat, when a great multitude came to invade him, ‘ He set his face to seek the Lord, and called the people to a solemn fast : ’ so the Church professeth in the Prophet Isaiah, ‘ In the way of thy judgments, Lord, we have waited for thee ; the desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee. With my soul have I desired thee in the night, yea, with my spirit within me will I seek thee early.’ In this public calamity therefore it is our duty to turn to him that

smiteth us ; and to humble ourselves under his mighty hand, to conceive a reverend and religious fear towards him, that only by turning away his countenance can thus trouble us, against that of man, which can do no more but kill the body.

“ Again : to renew our love to our heavenly Father, that now offereth himself to us, as to children, and to give a proof of that love that we bear to our Saviour, in the keeping of his sayings, hating in comparison of him, and competition with him, father, mother, children, goods, and life itself ; which is the condition and proof of his disciples ; and, above all, to receive and reinforce our faith and affiance, which is now brought unto the trial of the fiery furnace, and of the lions’ den. O that it might be found to our honour, praise, and glory, at the appearing of Jesus Christ ! In the mean space, even now, let us be partakers of Christ’s sufferings, and hear him from heaven encouraging us, ‘ Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.’

“ Touching prayer, we have this gracious invitation, ‘ Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee ; ’ the example of all God’s saints, and of our Saviour in his agony. To this belong the humble confession of our sins, with earnest request of pardon ; the complaint of our misery and danger, with request of succour and protection : we have, besides, the intercession of our Advocate with the Father, the cry of the

innocent blood that hath been cruelly shed, and the Lord's own interesting himself in the cause, so as we may say with the Psalmist, ' Arise, O God : plead thine own cause, remember how the foolish man ' (yea, the man of sin) ' reproacheth thee daily. Forget not the voice of thine enemies ; the tumult of those that rise against thee increaseth continually.' That Psalm, and many others, as the vi., xiii., xxxv., xlvi., lxx., lxxi., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxx., lxxxviii., xcii., xciv., cii., cxv., cxxiii., cxxx., cxl., cxlii., give precedents of prayers in such times as these ; and the prayer of Daniel, and Ezra ix., of Asa and Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xiv., and xx. 12. The stories of David's flight before Absalom, and Jehoshaphat's behaviour when the enemies came against him, of Hezekiah's, in Sennacherib's invasion, Isaiah xxxvii., and the whole book of Esther, are fit scriptures now to be read, that through patience and comfort of them we might have hope.

" Now because we know not how soon we may be called to sanctify God's name, by making profession thereof, you may perhaps desire to know what to say in that day. You may openly profess your not doubting of any article of the catholic faith, shortly laid down in the Creed, or more largely laid down in the holy Scriptures ; but that you consent not to certain opinions, which are no points of faith, which have been

brought into common belief, without warrant of Scriptures, or pure antiquity, as namely :—

“ That it is of necessity to salvation to be under the Pope.

“ That the Scriptures ought not to be read of the common people.

“ That the doctrine of holy Scripture is not sufficient to salvation.

“ That the service of God ought to be in a language not understood of the people.

“ That the communion should not be administered to them in both kinds.

“ That the bread in the Lord’s supper is transubstantiated into his body.

“ That he is there sacrificed for the quick and the dead.

“ That there is any purgatory besides Christ’s blood.

“ That our good works can merit heaven.

“ That the saints hear our prayers, and know our hearts.

“ That images are to be worshipped.

“ That the Pope is infallible, and can command angels.

“ That we ought to pray to the dead, and for the dead.

“ In all these, notwithstanding, you may profess your teachableness, if by sound reasons out of God’s word you shall be convinced of the truth of them. And because we know not how

far it will please God to call us to make resistance against sin, whether unto blood itself, or no, it shall be wisdom for us to prepare ourselves to the last care of a godly life, which is to die godly. This the Apostle Paul calleth ‘sleeping in Jesus,’ implying thereby our faith in him, our being found in his work, and our committing our souls into his hands with peace; such a sweet and heavenly sleep was that of St. Stephen, whose last words for himself were, ‘Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,’ and for his tormentors, ‘Lord, lay not this sin to their charge:’ wherewith I will end this writing, and wish to end my life, when the will of God shall be; to whose gracious protection, dear sister, I do heartily commit you.

“ November 23d, 1641.”

These advices show in what temper that holy man was in this his extremity. They had a very good effect on the lady; for, as by reading them over very often, she got to be able to say them all without book, so she did that which was much more, she lodged them in her heart as well as in her memory.

CHAPTER VII.

WHILE this good man was now every day waiting for his crown, the rebels sent to him, desiring him to dismiss the company that was about him: but he refused to obey their cruel order, and he resolved to live and die with them; and would much more willingly have offered himself to have died for them, than have accepted of any favour for himself, from which they should be shut out. And when they sent him word, that though they loved and honoured him beyond all the English that ever came into Ireland, because he had never done wrong to any, but good to many, yet they had received orders from the Council of State at Kilkenny, that had assumed the government of the rebels, that if he would not put away the people that had gathered about him, they should take him from them; he said no more, but in the words of David and St. Paul, "Here I am; the Lord do unto me as seems good to him; the will of the Lord be done." So on the 18th of December they came and seized on him, and on all that belonged to him, and carried him, and his two sons, and Mr. Clogy, prisoners to the castle of Lochwater, the only place of strength in the whole county. It was a little tower in the midst of a lake about a musket-shot from any shore. And though there had been a little island about it

anciently, yet the water had so gained on it, that there was not a foot of ground above water, but only the tower itself. They suffered the prisoners to carry nothing with them; for the Popish Bishop took possession of all that belonged to the Bishop, and said mass the next Lord's day in the church. They set the Bishop on horseback, and made the other prisoners go on foot by him. And thus he was lodged in this castle, that was a most miserable dwelling. The castle had been in the hands of one Mr. Cullum, who, as he had the keeping of the fort trusted to him, so he had a good allowance for a magazine to be laid up in it, for the defence of the country. But he had not a pound of powder, nor one fixed musket in it, and he fell under the just punishment of the neglect of his trust; for he was taken the first day of the rebellion, and was himself made a prisoner here. All but the Bishop were at first put into irons; for the Irish, who were perpetually drunk, were afraid lest they should seize both on them and on the castle. Yet it pleased God so far to abate their fury that they took off their irons, and gave them no disturbance in the worship of God, which was now all the comfort that was left them. The house was extremely open to the weather, and ruinous; and as the place was bare and exposed, so that winter was very severe; which was a great addition to the misery of those that the rebels had stripped naked, leaving to

many not so much as a garment to cover their nakedness. But it pleased God to bring another prisoner to the same dungeon, that was of great use to them, one Richard Castledine, who had come over a poor carpenter to Ireland with nothing but his tools on his back, and was first employed by one Sir Richard Waldron in the carpentry work of a castle, that he was building in the parish of Cavan. But Sir Richard wasting his estate before he had finished his house, and afterwards leaving Ireland, God had so blessed the industry of this Castledine, during thirty years' labour, that he bought this estate, and having only daughters, he married one of them, out of gratitude, to Sir Richard's youngest son, to whom he intended to have given the estate that was his father's. He was a man of great virtue, and abounded in good works, as well as in exemplary piety. He was so good a husband that the Irish believed he was very rich ; so they preserved him, hoping to draw a great deal of money from him. He, being brought to this miserable prison, got some tools and old boards, and fitted them up as well as was possible, to keep out the weather. The keepers of the prison brought their prisoners abundance of provision, but left them to dress it for themselves ; which they that knew little of what belonged to cookery were glad to do in such a manner as might preserve their lives ; and were all of them much

supported in their spirits. They did not suffer as evil-doers, and they were not ashamed of the cross of Christ ; but rejoiced in God in the midst of all their afflictions ; and the good old Bishop took joyfully the spoiling of his goods and the restraint of his person, comforting himself in this, that these light afflictions would quickly work for him a more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

The day after his imprisonment, being the Lord's day, he preached to his little flock on the Epistle for the day, which set before them the pattern of the humility and sufferings of Christ ; and on Christmas-day he preached on Gal. iv. 4, 5, and administered the sacrament to the small congregation about him ; their keepers having been so charitable as to furnish them with bread and wine. And on the 26th of December, Mr. William Bedell, the Bishop's eldest son, preached on St. Stephen's last words ; which afforded proper matter for their meditation, who were every day in expectation when they should be put to give such a testimony of their faith as that first martyr had done : and on the 2d of January, which was the last Sunday of their imprisonment, Mr. Clegy preached on St. Luke ii. 32—34. During all their religious exercises, their keepers never gave them any disturbance ; and indeed they acted so gently towards them, that their natures seemed to be so much changed, that it

looked like a second stopping the mouths of lions. They often told the Bishop that they had no personal quarrel with him, and no other cause to be so severe to him, but because he was an Englishman.

But while he was in this dismal prison, some of the Scots of that county, who had retired to two houses, that were strong enough to resist any thing but cannon, and were commanded by Sir James Craig, Sir Francis Hamilton, and Sir Arthur Forber, afterwards Lord Grenard, finding themselves likely to suffer more by hunger than by the siege that was laid to them, made so resolute a sally upon the Irish, that they killed several, took some prisoners, and dispersed the rest, so that many months passed before they offered to besiege them any more. Among their prisoners four were men of considerable interest; so they treated an exchange of them for the Bishop, with his two sons and Mr. Clogy; which was concluded, and the prisoners were delivered on both sides on the 7th of January: but though the Irish promised to suffer the Bishop with the other three to go safe to Dublin, yet they would not let them go out of the country, but intended to make further advantage by having them still among them; and so they were suffered to go to the house of an Irish Minister, Denis O'Shereden, to whom some respect was showed, by reason of his extraction; though he had forsaken

their religion, and had married an English woman : he continued firm in his religion, and relieved many in their extremity.

Here the Bishop spent the few remaining days of his pilgrimage, having his latter end so full in view, that he seemed dead to the world and every thing in it, and to be hastening for the coming of the day of God. During the last Sabbaths of his life, though there were three Ministers present, he read all the prayers and lessons himself ; and likewise preached on all those days. On the 9th of January he preached on the whole of Psalm xliv., being the first of the Psalms appointed for that day, and very suitable to the miseries the English were then in, who were killed all day long, as sheep appointed for slaughter. On the next Sabbath, which was the 16th, he preached on Psalm lxxix., the first Psalm for the day, which runs much on the like argument, when the temple was defiled, and Jerusalem was laid on heaps, and the dead bodies of God's servants were given to be meat to the fowls of heaven, and their flesh to the beasts of the earth, and their blood was shed like water, and there was none to bury them. Their condition being so like one another, it was very proper to put up that prayer, "O remember not against us former iniquities : let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us, for we are brought very low :" together with the other, "Let the sighing of the prisoner come before thee ; according to the greatness

of thy power, preserve thou those that are appointed to die." On the 23d he preached on the last ten verses of Psalm lxxi., observing the great fitness that was in them to express his present condition, especially in these words: "O God, thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works: now also when I am old and grey-headed, forsake me not." On the 30th, which was the last Lord's day in which he had strength enough to preach, he preached on Psalm cxliv., the first appointed for that day; and when he came to the words in the seventh verse, which are also repeated in the eleventh verse, "Send thine hand from above, rid me and deliver me out of great waters, from the hand of strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and whose right hand is a right hand of falsehood;" he repeated them again and again, with so much zeal and affection, that it appeared how much he was hastening to the day of God, and that his heart was crying out, "Come, Lord Jesus; come quickly. How long, how long?" and he dwelt so long upon them, with so many sighs, that all the little assembly about him melted into tears, and looked on this as a presage of his approaching dissolution. And it proved too true; for the day after he sickened; which on the second day after appeared to be an ague, and on the fourth day, he, apprehending his speedy change, called for his sons, and his sons' wives, and

spake to them at several times, as near in these words as their memories could serve them to write them down soon after :—

“ I am going the way of all flesh, I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand : knowing, therefore, that shortly I must put off this tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath showed me, I know also that if this my earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, I have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, a fair mansion in the New Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God. Therefore to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain ; which increaseth my desire, even now to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better than to continue here in all the transitory, vain, and false pleasures of this world, of which I have seen an end. Hearken therefore unto the last words of your dying father : I am no more in this world, but ye are in the world : I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God, through the all-sufficient merits of Jesus Christ my Redeemer ; who ever lives to make intercession for me, who is a propitiation for all my sins, and washed me from them all in his own blood, who is worthy to receive glory, and honour, and power, who hath created all things, and for whose pleasure they are and were created.

“ My witness is in heaven, and my record on

high, that I have endeavoured to glorify God on earth, and in the ministry of the Gospel of his dear Son, which was committed to my trust ; I have finished the work which he gave me to do, as a faithful ambassador of Christ, and steward of the mysteries of God. I have preached righteousness in the great congregation : lo, I have not refrained my lips, O Lord, thou knowest. I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart, I have declared thy faithfulness, and thy salvation ; I have not concealed thy lovingkindness and thy truth from the great congregation of mankind. He is near that justifieth me, that I have not concealed the words of the Holy One ; but the words that he gave to me, I have given to you, and ye have received them. I had a desire and resolution to walk before God, (in every station of my pilgrimage, from my youth up to this day,) in truth and with an upright heart, and to do that which was upright in his eyes, to the utmost of my power ; and what things were gain to me formerly, these things I count now loss for Christ ; yea, doubtless, and I account all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord ; for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and I account them but dung, that I may win Christ, and be found in him, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by

faith ; that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death, I press therefore towards the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Jesus Christ.

" Let nothing separate you from the love of Christ, neither tribulation nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword ; though (as ye hear and see) for his sake we are killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter : yet in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us : for I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any creature shall be able to separate me from the love of God in Christ Jesus my Lord. Therefore love not the world, nor the things of the world ; but prepare daily and hourly for death, (that now besieges us on every side,) and be faithful unto death ; that we may meet together joyfully on the right hand of Christ at the last day, and follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth, with all those that are clothed with white robes, in sign of innocence, and palms in their hands, in sign of victory ; which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. They shall hunger no more, nor thirst, neither shall the sun light on them, or

any heat ; for the Lamb, that is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters, and shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

“Choose rather with Moses to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season ; which will be bitterness in the latter end. Look therefore for sufferings, and to be daily made partakers of the sufferings of Christ, to fill up that which is behind of the affliction of Christ in your flesh, for his body’s sake, which is the church. What can you look for, but one woe after another, while the man of sin is thus suffered to rage, and to make havoc of God’s people at his pleasure, while men are divided about trifles, that ought to have been more vigilant over us, and careful of those whose blood is precious in God’s sight, though now shed everywhere like water. If ye suffer for righteousness, happy are ye ; be not afraid of their terror, neither be ye troubled ; and be in nothing terrified by your adversaries ; which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For to you is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake. Rejoice therefore, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ’s sufferings, that when his glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. And if ye be repreached for the name of Christ, happy

are ye; the Spirit of glory and of Christ resteth on you: on their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified.

"God will surely visit you in due time, and return your captivity as the rivers of the south, and bring you back again into your possession in this land: though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations; yet ye shall reap in joy, though now ye sow in tears: all our losses shall be recompensed with abundant advantages; for my God will supply all your need, according to his riches in glory by Jesus Christ, who is able to do exceeding abundantly for us, above all that we are able to ask or think."

After that he blessed his children, and those that stood about him, in an audible voice, in these words:—"God of his infinite mercy bless you all, and present you holy, and unblamable, and unreprovable in his sight, that we may meet together at the right hand of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, with joy unspeakable and full of glory. Amen." To which he added these words, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished the course of my ministry and life together. Though grievous wolves have entered in among us, not sparing the flock; yet I trust the great Shepherd of his flock will save and deliver them out of all places, where they have been scattered in this cloudy and dark day; that they shall be no more

a prey to the Heathen, neither shall the beasts of the land devour them ; but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid. O Lord, I have waited for thy salvation." And after a little interval, he said, "I have kept the faith once given to the saints ; for the which cause I have also suffered these things. But I am not ashamed ; for I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day."

After this time he spoke little ; for as his sickness increased, his speech failed, and he slumbered out most of the time, only between hands it appeared that he was cheerfully waiting for his change ; which at last came about midnight, on the 7th of February, that he fell asleep in the Lord, and entered into his rest, and obtained his crown, which in some sort was a crown of martyrdom ; for no doubt the sad weight of sorrow that lay upon his mind, and his ill usage in his imprisonment, had much hastened his death : and he suffered more in his mind by what he had lived to hear and see these last fifteen weeks of his life, than he could have done if he had fallen by the sword, among the first of those that felt the rage of the Irish. His friends went about his burying ; and since that could not be obtained but by the new intruding Bishop's leave, Mr. Clogy and Mr. Shereden went to ask it, and Mr.

Dillon was prevailed with by his wife to go and second their desire. They found the Bishop lying in his own vomit, and saw a sad change in that house which was before a house of prayer and of good works, but was now a den of thieves, and a nest of uncleanness. The Bishop, when he was awakened out of his drunkenness, excepted a little to it, and said, the churchyard was holy ground, and was no more to be defiled with heretics' bodies ; yet he consented to it at last. So on the 9th of February he was buried according to the direction himself had given, next his wife's coffin. The Irish did him unusual honours at his burial ; for the chief of the rebels gathered their forces together, and with them accompanied his body from Mr. Shereden's house to the churchyard of Kilmore, in great solemnity : and they desired Mr. Clogy to bury him according to the office prescribed by the Church ; but though the gentlemen were so civil as to offer it, yet it was not thought advisable to provoke the rabble so much as perhaps that might have done ; so it was passed over. But the Irish discharged a volley of shot at his interment, and cried out in Latin, *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*, " May the last of the English rest in peace :" for they had often said, that as they esteemed him the best of the English Bishops, so he should be the last that should be left among them.

CHAPTER IX.

THUS lived and died this excellent Bishop ; in whom so many of the greatest characters of a primitive and apostolical Bishop did show themselves so eminently, that it seemed fit that he should still speak to the world, though dead, both for convincing the unjust enemies of that venerable order, and for the instruction of those that succeed him in it ; since great patterns give the easiest notions of eminent virtues, and teach in a way that has much more authority with it than all speculative discourses can possibly have. And as the lives of the primitive Christians were a speaking apology for their religion, as well as a direction to those that grew up ; so it is to be hoped that the solemn though silent language of so bright an example will have the desired effect both ways : and then my author will have a noble reward for his labours. To this I shall add a little of his character.

He was a tall and graceful person ; there was something in his looks and carriage that discovered what was within, and created a veneration for him. He had an unaffected gravity in his deportment, and decent simplicity in his dress and apparel. He had a long and broad beard ; for my author never saw a razor pass upon his face. His grey hairs were a crown to him, both

for beauty and honour. His strength continued firm to the last ; so that the week before his last sickness, he walked about as vigorously and nimbly as any of the company, and leaped over a broad ditch ; so that his sons were amazed at it, and could scarce follow him. His eyes continued so good, that he never used spectacles ; nor did he suffer any decay in any of his natural powers, only by a fall in his childhood he had contracted a deafness in his left ear. He had great strength and health of body, except that a few years before his death, he had some severe fits of the stone, that his sedentary course of life seemed to have brought on him, which he bore with wonderful patience. The best remedy that he found for it was to dig in his garden till he had very much heated himself, by which he found a mitigation of his pain. He took much pleasure in a garden ; and having brought over some curious instruments out of Italy, for racemation, engrafting, and inoculating, he was a great master in the use of them.

His judgment and memory, as they were very extraordinary, so they remained with him to the last. He always preached without notes, but often wrote down his meditations after he had preached them. He did not affect to show any other learning in his sermons but what was proper for opening his text, and clearing the difficulties in it ; which he did by comparing the ori-

ginals with the most ancient versions. His style was clear and full, but plain and simple; for he abhorred all affectations of pompous rhetoric in sermons, as contrary to the simplicity of Christ. His sermons did all drive at the great design of infusing in the hearts of his hearers right apprehensions and warm thoughts of the great things of the Christian religion; which he did with so much the more authority, because it appeared that he was much moved himself with those things that he delivered to others. He was always at work in his study, when the affairs of his function did not lead him out of it. In which his chief employment was the study of the text of the Scripture. He read the Hebrew and the Septuagint so much, that they were as familiar to him as the English translation. He read every morning the Psalms appointed by the Common-Prayer for the day in Hebrew; or if his son, or any other that was skilled in the Hebrew, was present, he read one verse out of the Hebrew, turning it into Latin, and the other read the next, and so by turns till they went through them. He had gathered a vast heap of critical expositions of Scripture. All this, with his other manuscripts, of which there was a great trunk full, fell into the hands of the Irish. He had written very learned paraphrases and sermons on all those parts of Scripture that were prescribed to be read in the second service; but all these are

lost. His great Hebrew manuscript was happily rescued out of the hands of those devourers of all sacred things, and is to this day preserved in the library of Emmanuel College ; for an Irishman, whom he had converted, went among his countrymen and brought out that and a few other books to him.

Every day after dinner and supper there was a chapter of the Bible read at his table, whosoever were present, Protestants or Papists ; and Bibles were laid down before every one of the company ; and before himself, either the Hebrew or Greek, and in his last years the Irish translation was laid ; and he usually explained the difficulties that occurred. He wrote many books of controversy, which was chiefly occasioned by the engagements that lay on him, to labour much in the conversion of persons of the Roman communion ; and the knowledge he had of that Church, and their way of worship, by what he had seen and observed while he was at Venice, raised in him a great zeal against their corruptions. He not only looked on that Church as idolatrous, but as the antichristian Babylon ; concerning which, St. John saw all those visions in the Revelation ; and of this the sermon out of which I have made some extracts gives evidence. He wrote a large treatise in answer to those two questions, in which the Missionaries of that communion triumph so much : “ Where

was our religion before Luther? and what became of our ancestors that died in Popery?" Archbishop Usher pressed him to print it; and he had resolved to do it; but that, with all his other works, was swallowed up in the Rebellion. He kept a great correspondence, not only with the Divines of England, but with many others over Europe; for he wrote both Latin and Italian very elegantly. He was very free in his conversation, but talked seldom of indifferent matters; he expressed a great modesty of spirit, and a moderation of temper in every thing he spoke; and his discourse still turned to somewhat that made his company useful and instructing. He spoke his own thoughts very plainly; and as he bore well with the freedom of others, so he took all the discreet liberty that became a man of his age and station, and did not stick to tell even the learned and worthy Primate Usher such things as he thought were blameworthy in him, and with the same sincerity he showed him some critical mistakes that he met with in some of his works. They were very few, and not of any great importance; but they did not agree with the Primate's exactness in other things, and so he laid them before him; which the other took from him with that kindness and humility that was natural to him. His habit was decent and grave; he wore no silk, but plain stuffs. The furniture of his house was not pompous nor super-

fluous, but necessary for common use, and proper. His table was well covered, according to the plenty that was in the country, but there was no luxury in it. Great resort was made to him, and he observed a true hospitality in house-keeping. Many poor Irish families about him were maintained out of his kitchen : and in the Christmas time, he had the poor always eating with him at his own table ; and he brought himself to endure both the sight of their rags, and their rudeness. He was not forward to speak, and he expressed himself in very few words in public companies. At public tables he usually sat silent. Once at the Earl of Strafford's table, one observed, that while they were all talking he said nothing. So the Primate answered, "Broach him, and you will find good liquor in him ;" upon which that person proposed a question in divinity to him, and in answering it, the Bishop showed both his own sufficiency so well, and puzzled the other so much, that all at table, except the Bishop himself, fell a laughing at the other. The greatness of his mind, and the undauntedness of his spirit on all occasions, has appeared very evidently in many of the passages of his life ; but though that height of mind is often accompanied with a great mixture of pride, nothing of that appeared in the Bishop. He carried himself towards all people with such a gaining humility, that he got into their hearts : he lived with his

Clergy as if they had been his brethren. When he went his visitations, he would not accept of the invitations that were made him by the great men of the country, but would needs eat with his brethren in such poor inns, and of such coarse fare, as the places afforded. A person of quality that had prepared an entertainment for him during his visitation, took his refusing it so ill, that whereas the Bishop promised to come and see him after dinner; as soon as he came near his gate, which was standing open, it was presently shut, on design to affront him, and he was kept half an hour knocking at it: the affront was visible, and when some would have had him go away, he would not do it, but said, "They will hear ere long." At last the master came out, and received him with many shows of civility; but he made a very short visit, and though the rudeness he met with prevailed not on him, either to resent it, or go away upon it, yet it appeared that he understood it well enough. He avoided all affectations of state or greatness in his carriage; he went about always on foot, when he was at Dublin, one servant only attending on him, except on public occasions, that obliged him to ride in procession among his brethren. He never kept a coach; for his strength continued so entire that he was always able to ride on horseback. He avoided the affectations of humility as well as of pride; the former flowing often

the greater pride of the two. And amidst all those extraordinary talents with which God had blessed him, it never appeared that he overvalued himself, nor despised others; that he assumed to himself a dictatorship, or was impatient of contradiction. He took an ingenious device to put him in mind both of his obligations to purity and humility: it was a flaming crucible, with this motto in Hebrew, "Take from me all my tin." The word in Hebrew that signifies tin, was *bedil*. This importeth that he thought that every thing in himself was but base alloy, and therefore he prayed that God would cleanse him from it. His great humility made the secrete parts of his goodness, as to his private walking with God, less known, except as they appeared in that best and surest indication of it, which his life and conversation gave: yet if the rebels had not destroyed all his papers, there would have been found among them great discoveries of this; for he kept a daily journal for many years. But of what sort it was, how full, and how particular, is only known to God; since no man ever saw, unless some of the rebels found it: though it is not probable that they would have taken the pains to examine his papers, it being more likely that they destroyed them all in a heap. He never thought of changing his see, or of rising up to a more advantageous bishopric; but considered himself as under a tie to his see that could not

be easily dissolved. So that when the translating him to a bishopric in England was proposed to him, he refused it, and said he should be as troublesome a Bishop in England, as he had been in Ireland.

It appeared he had a true and generous notion of religion, and that he did not look upon it so much as a system of opinions, or a set of forms, as a divine discipline that reforms the heart and life ; and therefore when some men were valued upon their zeal for some lesser matters, he had those words of St. Augustine often in his mouth : “ It is not leaves, but fruit, that I seek.” This was the true principle of his great zeal against Popery. It was not the peevishness of a party, the sourness of a speculative man, nor the concern of an interested person, that wrought on him ; but he considered the corruptions of that Church as an effectual course for enervating the true design of Christianity ; and this he not only gathered from speculation, but from what he saw and knew during his long abode in Italy. His devotion in his closet was only known to Him who commanded him to pray in secret. In his family he prayed always thrice a day, and in a set form, though he did not read it ; this he did in the morning, and before dinner, and after supper ; and he never turned over this duty, or the short devotions before and after meat, on his Chaplain, but was always his own Chaplain. He

looked upon the obligation of observing the Sabbath as moral and perpetual, and considered it as so great an engine for carrying on the true ends of religion, that, as he would never go into the liberties that many practised on that day, so he was exemplary in his own exact observation of it ; preaching always twice, and catechising once ; and besides that, he used to go over the sermons again in his family, and sing psalms, and concluded all with prayer.

As for his domestic concerns, he married one of the family of the L'Estranges, that had been before married to the Recorder of St. Edmundsbury : she proved to be in all respects a very fit wife for him. She was exemplary for her life, humble and modest in her habit and behaviour, and was singular in many excellent qualities, particularly in a very extraordinary reverence that she paid him. She bore him four children, three sons and a daughter ; but one of the sons and the daughter died young, so none survived but William and Ambrose. The just reputation his wife was in for her piety and virtue, made him choose that for the text of her funeral sermon : “A good name is better than ointment.” She died of a lethargy three years before the Rebellion broke out ; and he himself preached her funeral sermon, with such a mixture both of tenderness and moderation, that it touched the whole congregation so much, that there were very few dry

eyes in the church all the while. He did not like the burying in the church; for as he observed there was much both of superstition and pride in it, so he believed it was a great annoyance to the living, when there was so much of the steam of dead bodies rising about them; he was likewise much offended at the rudeness which the crowding the dead bodies in a small parcel of ground occasioned; for the bodies already laid there, and not yet quite decayed, were often raised and mangled; so that he made a canon in his synod against burying in churches: and as he often wished that burying-places were removed out of all towns, so he did choose the most remote and least-frequented place of the church-yard of Kilmore for his wife; and by his will he ordered that he should be laid next her with this bare inscription,

Depositum Gulielmi quondam Episcopi Kilmorensis.

Depositum cannot bear an English translation, it signifying “somewhat given to another in trust;” so he considered his burial as a trust left in the earth till the time that it shall be called on to give up its dead.

The modesty of that inscription adds to his merit, which those who knew him well believe exceeds even all that this his zealous and worthy friend does through my hands convey to the world, for his memory; which will outlive the marble or the brass, and will make him ever to

be reckoned one of the speaking and lasting glories, not only of the Episcopal order, but of the age in which he lived ; and of the two nations, England and Ireland, between whom he was so equally divided, that it is hard to tell which of them has the greatest share in him. Nor must his honour stop here : he was a living apology, both for the Reformed religion, and the Christian doctrine ; and both he that collected these memorials of him, and he that copies them out and publishes them, will think their labours very happily employed, if the reading them produces any of those good effects that are intended by them.

As for his two sons, he was satisfied to provide for them in so modest a way, as showed that he neither aspired to high things on their behalf, nor did he consider the revenue of the Church as a property of his own, out of which he might raise a great estate for them. He provided his eldest son with a benefice of eighty pounds a year, in which he laboured with that fidelity that became the son of such a father ; and his second son, not being a man of letters, had a little estate of sixty pounds a year given him by the Bishop ; which was the only purchase that I hear he made ; and I am informed, that he gave nothing to his eldest son but that benefice which he so well deserved. So little advantage did he give to the enemies of the Church ; either to those of the Church of Rome, against the mar-

riage of the Clergy, or to the dividers among ourselves, against the revenues of the Church: the one sort objecting that a married state made the Clergy covetous in order to the raising their families; and the other pretending that the revenues of the Church being converted by Clergymen into temporal estates for their children, it was no sacrilege to invade that which was generally no less abused by Churchmen, than it could be by laymen; since these revenues are trusted to the Clergy as depositaries, and not given to them as proprietors.

May the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls so inspire all that are the overseers of that flock which he purchased with his own blood, that, in imitation of all those glorious patterns that are in church history, and of this in the last age, that is inferior to very few that any former age produced, they may watch over the flock of Christ, and so feed and govern them, that the mouths of all adversaries may be stopped; that this apostolical order recovering its primitive spirit and vigour, it may be received and obeyed with that same submission and esteem that was paid to it in former times; and that, all differences about lesser matters being laid down, peace and truth may again flourish, and the true ends of religion and church-government may be advanced, and that, instead of biting, devouring, and consuming one another, as we do, we may all build up one another in our most holy faith!

THE LIFE
OF THE
REV. ANTHONY W. BOEHM,

FORMERLY CHAPLAIN TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE
GEORGE OF DENMARK, AND MINISTER OF THE
GERMAN CHAPEL AT ST. JAMES'S, LONDON.

BY THE REV. JOHN JACOB RAMBACH,
PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AT HALLE IN SAXONY.

MADE ENGLISH
BY JOHN CHRISTIAN JACOBI.

PREFACE.

THIS excellent person, whose life is the subject of the following pages, was so remarkable for his great humility, that he affected to appear in the world no more than his duty constrained him. His modesty concealed his shining virtues, where his zeal and love for his blessed Lord did not command them into public exercise: but when he began to be drawn out of his obscurity, he could not hinder himself from being admired and beloved. And as his death was mourned by multitudes, both of high and low degree, with a most sincere sorrow; so it is justly supposed that these memoirs of his life will be received with a warm desire by those who have heard of his character, and will be read by those who had the happiness to know him with a peculiar satisfaction.

It is proper the reader should know that his writings have been lately published at Altona, near Hamburgh in Germany, by the Rev. John Jacob Rambach, Professor of Divinity at Halle in Saxony, in two volumes, in the years 1731 and 1732. The memoirs of his life and death

are prefixed to the first volume, and his character drawn up by the same hand to the second. Nor is it at all improper in this place to transcribe Professor Rambach's own words, namely, in the first volume :—

“ The reader receives here a collection of the writings of a person, whose name well deserves to be recorded with a pious remembrance in the congregation of the righteous. And this is the late Rev. Anthony William Boehm, formerly Chaplain to His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, and a member of the honourable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge ; who in his lifetime published many edifying discourses, which being at first printed singly, and some of them reprinted more than once, are now communicated together for general edification.

“ As soon as I was desired to make a preface to this collection, I designed to give the reader an account of this pious author's life and conversation, as I did last year in the preface to the famous English Divine, Thomas Goodwin's writings. But going about to put my design in execution, I found such large empty spaces would be left, for want of some of the most necessary materials, that I had almost altered my first resolution, had I not been furnished since with several of Mr. Boehm's own private letters, to give some insight into the outward and inward dispensations of Providence he met with in his

lifetime: so that I could not forbear faithfully to communicate these, though imperfect, yet authentic records, to the praise and glory of divine grace displayed through this instrument of mercy, and to the edification of others; in hopes they will give the reader a better idea of the author, and contribute very much to the better and more profitable perusal of his writings."

In the preface to the second volume, Dr. Rambach writes thus :—

" Since the publication of the first volume of the late worthy Mr. Boehni's writings, the care which was taken about these fatherless children has met with great approbation, from those who had either known the father personally, or else heard him commended by others; and raised in some a particular inward satisfaction to the praises of the Giver of all good gifts. We have seen, amongst others, a letter of a great person, who expresses his mind in the following manner:—' I have received and read our late dear Mr. Boehm's writings with a real satisfaction of heart; so that I must desire you to send me all the works of this worthy author, as soon as any may be published hereafter.

" 'I have reason to look back upon him and esteem him as my spiritual father in Christ; since the only wise and holy God was pleased to put his word so emphatically into the mouth of this his servant, that though I was deeply

engaged in the world, and in one of the greatest courts of Europe, I could not but seriously reflect on the vanity and emptiness of all human things, and on the contrary give way to the lively demonstration of the sweet love of Jesus Christ, and the longsuffering mercy of God, which were so laid home to me, that I resolved at once to resign myself entirely up to my Saviour, to follow his steps: for which mercy, though I can never sufficiently praise the highest and most perfect Being, neither in time nor in eternity, yet I shall always preserve the memory of this worthy Divine, and value it as long as I live.'

" We do not doubt in the least but that the Holy Spirit has raised many heavenly motions in others who have read the first part of these writings, and made them desirous to read also the remaining good thoughts that have flown from such an edifying pen. Wherefore we have not been wanting to satisfy their desire, and to perform at the same time the promise made in the preface of the first part, namely, to give the reader some account of the gifts and the graces of the Spirit wherewith this blessed man was endowed.

" May the Lord Jesus increase the sweet savour of his knowledge by the labours of this his servant; and as He is now adored by him in heaven, so may his holy name be glorified here upon earth by these writings! May the living God make these volumes a means of conveying

his infinite blessings for the enlargement of his Son's kingdom, to which end the greatest part of his life had been dedicated. Giessen, April 12th, 1732."

· Thus far the German Professor. And give me leave to add this farther petition : May the good Spirit of God, who wrought these Christian virtues in secret in the heart of his servant, and made them appear and shine in the course of his life, bless the publication of these memoirs, to excite such a happy imitation of them in the heart and life of those who read them, that there may be many such images of our blessed Saviour rising up in this lower world !

RECOMMENDATION.

WHEN I had perused this account of that excellent man, the late Mr. Boehm, I was well pleased to see it drawn up by a skilful pen ; and I should have been more easily persuaded to have recommended it to the world, if my own name had not been mentioned therein. But it was not thought proper here in England to leave out that paragraph, which was written by so learned a Divine in Germany, who published his works, and drew up this account according to the memoirs he had received from his countrymen here.

What acquaintance I had with Mr. Boehm was begun and maintained chiefly by epistolary correspondence, and some mutual civilities conveyed by means of the worthy translator, who was acquainted with us both. Yet his character and his sentiments were so far known to me, that I conceived a high veneration for his person, because of his uncommon piety towards God, his love to Christ, and compassion for the souls of men ; his excessive modesty of spirit, and those

shining virtues which broke through the veil, and could not be concealed.

And since his friends have found it out, I will now confess that he was the person from whom I borrowed that character in my late "Miscellaneous Thoughts," No. 52; where I represent a reconciler between the rigid extremes of opinion, which are held by some of the Church of England, and some of the Protestant Dissenters, relating to forms of prayer.

There is no need to recommend the memoirs of Mr. Boehm to any of those who knew the man, to whom his memory will be always dear and delightful. And while I take the freedom to set this picture of him before my friends who knew him not, I ask leave to join my petition to heaven, together with those of the translator, that such an exemplary life may be blessed by the Spirit of God to form many living copies of it among the churches of Christ, and the Ministers thereof, both in Germany and in Great Britain. Amen.

ISAAC WATTS.

NEWINGTON, November 20th, 1734.

THE LIFE
OF THE
REV. ANTHONY WILLIAM BOEHM.

CHAPTER I.

MR. ANTHONY WILLIAM BOEHM was the son of the Rev. Anthony Boehm, Minister at Oestorff in the county of Pyrmont in Germany, who died 1679, in the fifty-sixth year of his age; having chosen for his funeral sermon the words of Jacob, "Behold, I die; but God shall be with you:" Genesis xlviij. 21: which words ever after proved a means to encourage and strengthen the faith of his widow and children. His mother was Anna Catherina Oynhausen, daughter of Christopher Oynhausen, formerly a Captain, and Governor of the castle of Pyrmont. This his pious mother, having had the happiness of being very often comforted by her own son's letters and conversation, died 1717, in the seventy-seventh year of her age.

Of these his parents he was born June 1st, 1673, and initiated into the covenant of grace by baptism. The blessing his father gave him, and

left recorded in his private manual, is the more remarkable, the more visibly it has been fulfilled in this his fifth son, and is as followeth:—

“ I wish this my dear son Anthony William, from the bottom of my soul, God’s illumination, God’s direction, God’s protection, God’s preservation, God’s powerful assistance, God’s whole spiritual armour. May God the heavenly Father endow him powerfully with his good and holy Spirit, that he may always prove a *Wilhelmus*, that is, ‘a conqueror.’ May he put on him the helmet of salvation, to enable him manfully to fight against his own flesh and blood, and overcome the world and the devil. May he bestow upon his heart a particular great delight and love to his holy word, and bless this my son with all manner of spiritual and temporal blessings, both here and hereafter, for the great Restorer of all blessings, Jesus Christ’s sake ! Amen, amen, amen.” And truly one cannot but with great satisfaction observe, how this prayer has been answered in the sequel of this hopeful and happy son’s life.

Of the particular circumstances of his education in his infancy we find nothing material, but that after his father’s death he was put to school, first at Lemgo, and afterwards at Hameln, where he improved so much in his Greek, Latin, and other parts of school-learning, that about the year 1693 he went to the then newly-erected University at

Halle in Saxony ; where the word of truth he heard in public and private made very soon an happy impression upon his mind, and gave him a frequent opportunity of conferring with his teachers about the state of his soul, keeping no other company but such as he could improve by. These were the happy presages of his future life.

After having laid here a good foundation in practical Christianity, as well as in his other academical studies, he was for some time employed as tutor to gentlemen and noblemen's children.

In the year 1698 he was called to Arolsen, the seat of the Count of Waldeck, where he instructed two young Countesses in the principles of Christianity, and performed the function of a Chaplain at the daily devotions of the Court. Here he stayed two years ; but meeting with some opposition from the so called orthodox Clergy of that diocese, about the real principles of practical Christianity, which he proved to be contrary to their unorthodox lives and conversations, he was dismissed the Court, although his patron, the Count, being convinced of the sincerity and solidity of this young Divine, promised him afterwards a living in his own native country. But Providence had designed him for another, where he might with more liberty of conscience improve and exert his talent under divine blessing.

As soon as he returned from thence to Halle, some German families in London desired a student from that University for a schoolmaster of their children. And since he, by his public and private discourses, had edified many, he was, not only for his good sense and exemplary conversation, but also for his knowledge in several languages, and particularly the French tongue, named to be a fit person for that purpose. But when the late Professor Frank proposed the matter to him, he could not so soon come to any resolution, but left it entirely to the direction and decision of Providence, and went to visit his friends at Pyrmont.

At his return to Halle, 1701, he was for his true Christian zeal, and other good qualities, entrusted with the inspection of the then new-erected tables at the orphan-house, which he discharged with all fidelity. In the month of July, the journey to England was again proposed to him, and he urged to come to a final resolution in August following.

But being almost determined to accept that proposal, the Duchess-Dowager of Cobourg called him to be her Chaplain ; and he was left at liberty which of these two offers he would choose. But having delivered his difficulties in writing, both about England and Cobourg, a resolution was taken to wait patiently the decision of divine providence. About that time, a letter arrived

from London, in which he was particularly named and desired to come over as soon as possible : this, with some other concurring circumstances, convinced him at last it was the will of God that he should go to England : towards which he set out accordingly, August 25th, 1701.

From Wesel he wrote thus to his brother, October 10th :—“ Hitherto the Lord has helped me, neither has he left my ways without His blessing. Last Sunday I was desired to preach in the Lutheran church, where most of my auditors were soldiers ; who after sermon desired me to be their Chaplain ; nay, their desire was so great, that a Lieutenant-Colonel came to the inn where I lodged, and formally called me to be Chaplain to Prince Louis’s regiment. The Lord be praised, who has touched the hearts even of these military people, and raised a hunger after the word of life among the officers ! I was forced to promise my correspondence with a certain person he named, about the aforesaid vocation ; because they would stay for my final resolution till next spring. May the Lord direct every thing for the best, and look in mercy upon my weakness in these circumstances ! ”

After his safe arrival at Rotterdam, he expresses himself in a letter to his brother in the following manner, October 29th :—“ The mercy of the Lord has safely brought me to this place. O how great is the number of God’s gifts and

benefits ! Should we not have noble thoughts of Him whose mercy reaches from east to west ? In Him I put my trust for the future, and wait till He is pleased to send an east wind to carry me to the end of my journey ; which by the present weather could not be effected yet. He has shown his power lately among the waves of the sea, where many ships were either cast away, or are still tossed about in sight. Blessed is he who dwelleth under the defence of the Most High." He relates at the same time his passage through Nimuegen, Utrecht, Amsterdam, Harlem, Leyden, and the Hague, where King William had been at the same time.

In Rotterdam he came acquainted with the late Mr. Henry William Ludolf, formerly Secretary of Prince George of Denmark, whose company he enjoyed in his passage to England, and who afterwards proved the instrument of making him known to that Prince.

The remaining circumstances of his journey he expresses thus in his letter to his brother, dated at London, Nov. 17th :—" When I was ruminating at Rotterdam, how to despatch my letters to my friends in Germany, the dear Mr. Ludolf (whom the Lord sent me as an angel, a faithful fellow-traveller in Holland) came and told me that the wind, which had been contrary hitherto, was now fair for us, and the ship ready to sail. It was the 29th of October, when we

went on board the ship called the Brotherly Love, representing the reconciliation of Jacob and Esau. With this favourable wind we reached that afternoon the last sea-port in Holland, called the Brill; but, the wind turning again in the evening, we were obliged to cast anchor in the Maas, and stay at the aforesaid place, where we landed next morning. The 3d of November following we set sail again: as soon as we came in the open sea, my frail body began to feel the difference of the air from that of the Continent; for I grew so extremely sea-sick, that I could receive very little nourishment in four days and nights, which brought me very low. Here I remembered that word which commands us to bear all manner of inconveniences; or, 'to endure hardship as good soldiers of Jesus Christ,' 2 Tim. ii. 3. But O! when shall we learn this lesson, which is so contrary to flesh and blood! The unusual smell of the ship, the hard lodging upon a bare board, the cold air, and other accidents of the ship, proved very uncommon trials to my natural senses. After we had past the greatest deep of the sea, the contrary winds forced us to cast anchor again, and to lie by for a night and a day: at last, the Lord was pleased to grant us a favourable wind for one day, which brought us quickly out of the sea into the Thames, so that we arrived at London the 7th of November at night; for which the name of the Lord be praised."

In his journal, where he had set down the date of his arrival in London, he added the following words :—“The Lord of hosts be praised for all his mercies, and grant new grace in a new place, that I may experience and rejoice in the manifestation of His fatherly providence, and glorify him for evermore! Amen.” Which prayer the Lord has heard, and answered in a signal manner.

After his arrival in London, he lived a while in that great city *incognito*, not being able to begin any thing before he could speak English ; for which end two German students, who had been in London a considerable time, and kept an English and Latin school, were very serviceable to him : but coming acquainted with several members of the religious societies, he profited so much by their conversation, that he soon was able to express his thoughts in English.

Thus, having lived several months at his own cost, preparation was made for his keeping a German school ; and having hired two rooms in Bedfordbury for that purpose, because many German families live thereabouts, he began, February 9th, 1702, his school with five children ; the next day he had two more, and by degrees some others were added to their number. From this time, he received weekly five shillings for his subsistence ; though he was afterwards deprived even of this benefit, yet without any fault of his.

This school then being but small, and the number of children very inconsiderable, he could not well subsist in a place where all things are so dear: this put his dependence on God's providence, in the want of the mere necessities of life, upon a particular trial. But Mr. Ludolf being acquainted with his low condition of life, and fearing this worthy person, whom God had favoured with an uncommon talent, might return again to Germany, he exhorted him to patience, and brought him acquainted with many pious persons; who, not only for Mr. Ludolf's sake, but also for the sake of his edifying conversation, loved and supported him under his narrow circumstances. About the same time, the Court of Waldeck showed him real marks of favour by sending him some relief.

Of his first trials he met with in London, he gives an account in a letter to his sister, dated August 14th, 1703, as follows:—"The first commandment is certainly very difficult, and especially when we are bid to trust in God above all things. We think often we love God; but when we are to demonstrate our dependence on him in earnest, our love proves then but very small; and this I write by my own experience. For when, at my first coming into England, I did not find things go so well as flesh and blood expected, being a stranger, destitute of acquaintance, ignorant of the native tongue, seeing no Christian

love, but a great deal of the love of self and money ; I have often doubted whether I should not want bread : but the Lord has truly cared for me, though he at the same time put my trust and confidence in him to the trial. O ! how perverse and stubborn is the old man within us, when he is to suffer the least inconvenience, and yet can suffer a great deal before he will die ; his depravity discovering itself more and more by sufferings ! The cross must try our faith, whether it be genuine or no. Though I am but a small scholar in the experience of this lesson, and almost ashamed to speak of it ; yet this I know for certain, that few become religious and learn to do good without stripes and chastisements. May the Lord, by his corrections, always beat down something of that corruption so deeply riveted in our old nature ! ”

About this time he met with a particular instance of God’s gracious preservation in a visible danger of his life ; which, to the praise of God, deserves to be mentioned in this place, and of which he gives the following account in a letter to his friends, November 30th, 1703 :—“ In the night between last Friday and Saturday, the Lord sent forth his breath, I mean a most violent hurricane, and unparalleled in the memory of man, to visit not only this city but also the whole island : between two and three in the morning its greatest fury began ; and it is impossible to

describe its violence, which so stunned the senses, that many were brought to their wits' end. It lasted till nine o'clock in the morning before it began to abate. My lodging was up two pair of stairs, where half of the third story above me was, with a thundering noise, thrown down ; the fall whereof shook my lodging in a fearful manner, and it was choked with dust : the people above me fled for refuge into the cellar, and it was my turn next, if the Lord had permitted the wind to make the breach wider. Presently upon this, the chimney of my fore-room fell down, with another great noise, by which the wind seemed to get more liberty to storm upon my bedchamber ; so that I lay rocking in my bed as a child in a cradle, because the wind beat upon the house from all quarters. In all these frightful circumstances I continued in my bed, not knowing what place to retire to for shelter, but to the protection of Christ : soon after, my landlord came up and desired me to step down into the cellar, which he thought more safe, and whither the lodger under me had also retired. It was a melancholy prospect the next day to see the effects of God's vengeance in the ruin and destruction which appeared everywhere ; the streets were covered with the tiles and rubbish of the houses beat down by the storm : instead of the lofty and beautiful windows, one could look through the broken glasses of the shattered

houses. Many people were either killed outright, or so bruised and mangled that few of them escaped with their life. A great many ships were lost with all their men and cargo, amongst which seventy merchant-men were reckoned ; and all this happened in a few hours of one night. Blessed is he whose help is the Lord God, and whose trust and confidence is in Him, by whose name the righteous is protected."

In the next year, 1704, he acquainted his friends with the following circumstances of his life :—" You will do well, if, in these miserable times, you shelter yourselves altogether under the wings of our Redeemer. I could often wish myself amongst you, in order to excite and strengthen my heart by our mutual conversation : but herein I must wait the kind direction of Providence. I hope and wish, however, that in your quiet circumstances, remote from many temptations of these present times, you would not forget to commend my soul to the Lord to secure it from the abominations of this present evil world, and to make it at last undefiled before his holy face. It is true, there is a seed in this city, which may in time produce a great people to be born to the Lord ; but it is still like a mustard-seed growing but slowly. If I do but learn something of that excellent virtue of humility and patience, I shall not repent of my being here." In the same letter he mentions that God

had favoured him with a particular refreshment for the health of his body : "About a fortnight ago," saith he, "I returned from the country, where I spent three weeks in the company of an English gentleman, who carried me above one hundred and fifty miles from place to place : this journey proved the more refreshing to me, because I had not been above a German mile from London these three years past, and had almost forgot the pleasantness of the country. Amongst other places we visited that town where the diligent Mr. Baxter (who is so well known in Germany) had been a Preacher, and where we still found, to our joy, some remains of this pious man's labours ; a seed that above these forty years had lain mouldering and uncultivated."

CHAPTER II.

IN the next following year, 1705, the Lord remembered in mercy this his servant, who hitherto had been well exercised in poverty, humility, and patience, and prepared a way to set this light upon a higher candlestick : to this he made the late Mr. Ludolf the instrument, as Mr. Boehm himself declares in a letter to Mr. George Melchior Ludolf, at Wetzlar, wherein he acquaints

him with the death of his brother, January 12th, 1712. "I dare," says he, "call our late Mr. Ludolf my best friend with more assurance, because his friendship tended always to the one thing needful; and consequently to the edification, emendation, purification, and consummation of the soul, which was his chief aim to promote in all his acquaintance. But in regard of my temporal interest, at least the far greatest part, if not the whole, it was entirely owing to his earnest endeavours that, 1705, I was proposed to His Royal Highness, and was afterwards promoted by him to be one of his Chaplains." The occasion whereof was as follows.

When Queen Anne came to the crown, she prevailed with her royal consort the Prince to introduce the Common-Prayer of the Church of England into his own chapel, where the then Chaplain found it too hard for him alone to read those prayers which lasted a whole hour, and to preach too: wherefore he made his humble request to the Prince, that he would be graciously pleased to allow him an assistant. The Prince gave the Lord Plesse, his Chief Minister, orders to look out for an able person; and he inquired of Mr. Ludolf, whether he did not know one that could ease Dr. Mecken in his function, who immediately recommended Mr. Boehm; and hereupon had orders for him to preach next Sunday before the Prince at his chapel. Thus having delivered

his first sermon on the fourth Sunday after Easter, upon John xvi. 5—15, about the truth of the Christian religion, he was ordered to preach again the next Sunday following. The Prince being very well pleased with his solid discourses sent a message to him to know whether he would be one of his Chaplains, and preach every Sunday before him.

That he was very much surprised at so unexpected an offer, one may see by his own letters he sent to his friends about that time. “I must tell you,” (says he in a letter dated at Windsor, July 25th, 1705,) “that the providence of God, without my expectation and seeking, has so altered my former condition, that I have been obliged to quit my little school, and to preach almost a whole quarter of a year in Prince George of Denmark’s chapel. After my second sermon a message was sent me, that if I would accept His Royal Highness’s gracious offer to be his Chaplain, the vocation should be sent me in form: but not being able to come to any resolution yet, I have engaged myself to preach *per interim*, without meddling with any pastoral function, waiting the decision of Providence in this affair. I live in the mean time between hope and fear, not knowing what the issue of it will be at last. Should the Lord put an able man fit for the burden in this place, who had courage enough to resist the power of darkness,

a way might be prepared to do a great deal of good, &c. I have been obliged in the mean time to follow the Court to Windsor, where my frail body at least enjoys the benefit of the refreshing country air. The Lord have mercy on me, and let his will be done in all these momentous circumstances, which alone I desire to do ! ”

The sequel of this matter he relates in a letter, September 25th, 1705. “The circumstances,” says he, “of my vocation are at last come to such an issue as I have wished, and according to the humble request I daily offered up to God, in case he should be pleased to make a farther use of my small talent of preaching in this place : for His Royal Highness has been pleased to call the Rev. Mr. Crusius, Minister of the German congregation in the Savoy, to be his Chaplain, and to perform alone the ministerial functions, with whom I continue to preach by turns. The Lord have mercy upon my present circumstances, into which I have been led without the least self-seeking or desire of my own ; and make his blessing attend all my labours, that in all these transactions I may discover the finger of his holy direction, and praise him in the day of harvest for all the foot-steps of his providence manifested to me in foreign countries.”

This prayer the Lord has not left unfulfilled ; for as he discharged his function with all fidelity

and prudence, so the Lord blessed his indefatigable endeavours, particularly on the soul of His Royal Highness : (some circumstances whereof may be seen in the funeral sermon he preached on His Royal Highness's death, about the life of a Christian :) neither were they fruitless on the minds of many others, both high and low, who by him were roused and edified. Many souls have been gained and brought over to the Lord Jesus, as well by his edifying conversation, as by his pithy and convincing discourses. His name sounds in English like "Beam," which gave a certain person occasion to observe, that he had been a true beam ; by which many a soul had been inflamed to become light in the Lord. Seldom anybody came from hearing him without some touches of conscience. Those that came from chapel often dropped these and the like expressions : "That man preaches powerfully, if one could but live so as he says : he preaches as if he had looked into the very disposition of one's heart :" to which another replied, "It is as if somebody had discovered to him my thoughts ;" as we have been assured by one who had heard him several years in London.

He had not only always free access to the Prince, but also afterwards to the Queen, by whose orders divine service was continued at the chapel after the Prince's death, which happened 1708 ; so that he, with his colleague, went on accordingly with

preaching the Gospel without any interruption. The Queen herself gave him leave to come and talk with her upon a good subject, and never denied him any thing either for the benefit of the poor, or for other good purposes. But he did not abuse this condescension of the Queen to his own interests, but made use of it for the promoting of the public good, and the support of the poor and needy; distributing the considerable gifts he received with all fidelity, always accompanying the same with an exhortation to the practice of true Christianity.

It was also by his intercession, that the Queen prevailed with the King of France, to release many of the French Protestants condemned to the galleys for the sake of their religion.

When King George the First came to the crown, he was confirmed in his station; so that he continued his pious labours to his dying day with abundance of blessings.

As he was indefatigable in reading the best and most practical English authors, so he attained to a great readiness of expressing himself in that tongue upon all occasions, particularly when he happened upon the subject of the love of Christ, which was the very element wherein he lived by faith. There are many still living who have heard these his discourses in his private meetings which he was desired to keep twice a month; who, to the praise of God, remember his empha-

tical exhortations, and savoury explications of the holy Scriptures.

His living faith in his Saviour had changed his heart into a well, which yielded continual rivulets of wholesome instructions. Nay, he rejoiced when he could overflow and communicate to others the treasure the Lord had endowed his soul withal. He had obtained grace to see that fulfilled in him, which he had often prayed for and often repeated, singing out of Paul Jerhard's passion hymn,

“A Lamb goes forth and bears the load,”

in these words,

“Enlarge thyself, O heart of mine!
Thou shalt store up a treasure,
Exceeding the equinoctial line,
Nay, heaven and earth, in measure.”

This, with the following three savoury verses, he generally began his morning devotion with in rising and putting on his clothes, before he went to his private prayers; being thus used to excite his soul to the acceptance of the blood his eternal Surety had shed for him. This filled his heart so often with so many sweet inward sensations of the love of his Redeemer, that one could easily discern it in the sweetness and serenity of his countenance.

What he has done in forwarding the Danish Mission in Tranquebar, and for the benefit of the

poor Palatines, which were sent to the West Indies, will never be forgotten. Of his universal love and beneficence towards the poor, of his indefatigable endeavours in promoting any good design, (of which his sermons and private discourses, his edifying writings and translations of other pious authors, his useful letters and great correspondence to the East and West Indies, Greece, Africa, and to most parts of Europe, are manifest testimonies,) of his humility, patience, and other particular gifts of grace, too much can scarcely be said.

We hasten at present to the end of our dear Mr. Boehm, who, after he had served the will of God above one-and-twenty years in England, (during which time he visited his friends in Germany twice, and preached several times at Halle in Saxony,) and adorned his station and celibacy with an unblamable and edifying conversation, the Lord was pleased to take this his faithful servant into his rest. Towards the end of his life many infirmities befell him : he broke his arm going down a pair of stairs, of which, however, he was happily cured : but he was extremely troubled with the stone and gravel, yet suffered all those pains with great patience.

But of his exit we have the following relation from London :—“ A few weeks before his end he had begun to preach upon the Acts with great fervour of spirit, and was now come to the second

chapter, which he began May 13th, explaining the power and operation of the Holy Spirit, and insisting strongly upon the powerful union of the primitive Christians." May 16th he continued his exposition of the twelfth and thirteenth verses, and laid open the dangerous snares of the spirit of blasphemy, in showing that to be the ready way to the sin against the Holy Ghost, when people would ridicule the operations of the Holy Spirit with the names of melancholy, madness, or vapours. The 20th of May he preached his last sermon, with an unusual zeal and emphasis, about the power of the Holy Spirit ; and was like a lamp giving some clear flashes before it goes out. The Monday following, he went to his Bethany at Greenwich, namely, to his intimate friend Dr. Slare : where, being carefully looked after, and walking daily in the fresh air, he found himself pretty well, till Thursday, May 25th, he had an attack of ague and fever, for which nothing was wanting the Doctor thought proper for his recovery. The next Friday he complained of shortness of breath ; but, designing to preach the Sunday following, he would go back to London. But the Doctor perceiving the danger he was in, answered him,* since he was fully per-

* No wonder this his ingenious friend had so near a guess of his approaching death, since the Doctor was so exact a prophet to foretell his own, which happened when he was taking perhaps his last turn in Greenwich Park with one of

suaded he did not fear death, he would tell him, that he perhaps might be in heaven even before Sunday ; and therefore should rather advise him to think upon making his will, than upon a sermon. And though he replied he was pretty well, yet the Doctor prevailed with him to stay and make his will ; which he did walking about the house, and lifting often his eyes and hands with a smiling face heavenwards. Saturday noon he was seized with a violent hiccup at dinner, but that soon stopped by taking certain drops. He then made an end of his will, walking up and down the room. When the Doctor's sister complained to him, that now she should no more be edified by his comfortable discourses, he replied, "I have conversed with you as long as I was able. Let that suffice now, what I have formerly talked with you, and go about to practise it ; that the love of God and Jesus Christ may the more and more increase in you. And suppose you should forget all my discourses, and never hear me again, yet the Lord God will find a way to speak to your heart."

his friends. They met two young gay ladies, who, looking upon the Doctor, said one to another, "What doth that old fellow do out of his grave ?" The Doctor, who had a quick ear, though against the expectation of the unthinking ladies, turned about, and gave this presaging answer : "But you do not know, ladies, that he may be in his grave by this day sevennight." And so it happened ; for he was interred according to his prediction.

The next night he did not sleep well at all. Sunday morning at five o'clock the Doctor came to see how he did : he answered, "Very well," and commended the physic he had taken the day before against the hiccup ; but told him withal, that he had earnest business in London, which of necessity required his presence to-morrow. But the Doctor assured him that he was nearer his end than he imagined. Wherewith Mr. Boehm declared himself very well satisfied, only wishing to be found truly prepared. And thus the Doctor left him to lie a little longer, but charged his servant not to stir, but to call as soon as he should see any alteration in him. About six, which was his usual hour, he rose, and began to sing his morning hymn, took his night-gown, and went singing towards the great chair ; but his strength began to fail, and he grew very faint; which the servant perceiving, catched him, and led him to the chair. But no sooner he sat down but he gave up his soul to his Creator as it were singing ; for his lips were still moving with his last breath, when neither tune nor breath could be observed. Thus, in a few minutes he was translated to the spirits of the just made perfect, May 27th, 1722, having lived forty-nine years in the world. His corpse was decently interred in Greenwich church-yard the 30th of May following.

How much his death has been lamented, and

with what respect the public news in England spoke of him, the following passage, translated into our language, may abundantly testify:—
“Last Sunday, May 27th, 1722, died the Reverend and learned Mr. Anthony William Boehm, one of the royal German Chaplains at St. James’s, after three or four days’ illness at Greenwich. He was born at Oestorff near Pyrmont, in the county of Waldeck, June 1st, 1673. Above twenty years ago he came into England, where His late Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark preferred him to be one of his Chaplains, and had a great regard for him. He was a man of an extraordinary piety and charity, always studying to relieve the distressed of every denomination among Christians, and particularly such as were strangers and friendless: the poor Palatines found a father in him.”

In a letter addressed to his brother at Pyrmont, it was said:—“The loss of your dear brother has not only been a most sensible affliction to the best of his acquaintance in Great Britain, but also to his congregation, and particularly to his intimate German friends.” He lived without ceremony, and died without ceremony; he contented himself with the foretaste of that love, into the full enjoyment whereof he was soon to be translated. Wherefore he set but little value upon all the things of this present life, only using them so far as they served to promote the chief end,

the salvation of all mankind. I am in hopes, his death will have this effect upon us, that all the good doctrines, he was always endeavouring to inculcate into us, may ever revive in our hearts again. The Duchess of Kendal would have willingly had his Holy Thursday's sermon printed, which he promised the Sunday before he died. But God was pleased to take him away just at that very time, when the said Duchess began to relish his sermons, and his self-denying life and conversation.

The Reverend Dr. Watts expresses the concern of his heart at his death in a letter to his acquaintance as follows:—"I most heartily condole with you the loss of so excellent a man as Mr. Boehm: the tidings shook me with a painful surprise. I fear there are but few such men in the ministry, British or German, Episcopal or Nonconformist, &c. I am sorry the world and the church have sustained so heavy a stroke, and that I have lost such a friend, which I had just begun to know by epistolary converse.

"The residue of the Spirit is with our blessed Lord. He can diffuse it on successors; but we see but little appearances of so divine a blessing. None could value and honour such a man more heartily than myself. I am sorry my small portion of health is so necessarily filled up and employed in twenty other things, that I cannot possibly undertake the translation of his *Enchi-*

ridion Precum. I wish it done by a better hand. His opinion of prayer in the introduction is so entirely the same with what I have long embraced, that I take pleasure in finding a person of such uncommon piety in one sentiment with myself. Farewell."

CHAPTER III.

As far as we can be assured by those who have known him personally, the following graces of the Spirit have been evident in Mr. Boehm.

He had an extraordinary talent to discourse upon the word of truth orderly, fundamentally, savourily, and emphatically. Nature and grace assisted him herein. God had endowed him naturally with a penetrating judgment and an extraordinary memory; in which by a constant reading of useful books, he had stored up a good treasure. He was so far a master of the German, Latin, French, and English tongues, that he was ready at any time to explain his mind in any of them, either by discourse, or with the pen. But by the illumination of the Holy Spirit he had obtained a lively conviction and knowledge of divine things, which he daily increased by the frequent reading of the holy Scripture, and a long experience in the ways of God; so that it was no

difficulty to him from the good treasure of his heart to discourse upon the most material truths without any premeditation, whenever any occasion required it ; and that with such a force and energy, that one might have thought he had long meditated upon them before. His insinuating and solid arguments were admired by every body ; and herein he was possessed with a particular faculty of discovering other men's thoughts, of enervating all their objections, and obviating all their excuses and evasions. Wherefore those that came from hearing his sermons were forced to confess very often, that it had appeared to them, as if somebody had discovered their thoughts to him, so exactly he had answered them in his discourse.

This his emphatical method or powerful way of preaching, he always accompanied with an unblamable conversation, so that God blessed his word to many people's real conversion, who were afterwards dispersed either in Germany, Denmark, Sweedland, Holland, France, nay, in the East and West Indies, or are still living in England. In his discourses and letters, he knew how to express himself very pertinently and ingeniously : being once asked of a friend in Germany, how the inspired Prophets fared in London, he answered in his letter, they were like Jonah's gourd, which quickly grew, and quickly died.

He had a peculiar talent to turn his conversation, with all sorts of people, to their spiritual advantage, and the amendment of their hearts. He was like true wholesome salt, with which everything was seasoned that came near him. In his discourses with people of another persuasion, he knew how to draw their attention insensibly to the form of the wholesome doctrines, in a most plain and practical manner. In his converse with such as were either troubled in mind, or in an error, or with those who were called Prophets, Separatists, Quakers, Baptists, he knew how to enervate the arguments of the latter, and to lay open the mistakes and false conceits of the former, in so lively and loving a manner, that they had nothing more to say for themselves. Thus, many have either been entirely convinced, or brought to a greater moderation in their several opinions, about the doctrine of Jesus Christ ; nay, even those on whom his arguments seemed to make no great impression, yet could not but love him, because he never used any one either with bitterness, or in a ridiculing manner, but with the spirit of Christian love and compassion. At meals he was silent at first, but afterwards his mouth ran over with edifying discourses, for his heart was full of such subjects.

He had an indefatigable desire to gain souls, to do good, and to promote the kingdom of God. In this respect he was as a true chariot of Israel,

which brought many souls to the Lord Jesus. His zeal for enlarging the kingdom of Christ made him study continually how to touch the hearts of all sorts of people, not only in his public sermons, but also in the private discourses he was desired to hold either in English, French, or German ; in which he always delivered himself with that plainness and charity, with that meekness and humility, that the light of faith which dwelt in him could not but be discovered from all sides. If he perceived at any time, that the word of life had kindled a spark of faith in any soul, he took a tender care, as soon as he was acquainted therewith, that it might not be quenched again. He visited them in their own habitations, though they were never so mean or poor ; or invited them to come to his lodgings, and discover their hearts freely to him ; he then showed them the happiness of those souls that were acquainted with the Lord Jesus, and that never any one had repented of having his heart wholly resigned to him. When any one, who had been edified by his conversation, came to take his leave, he desired him to write to him ; and though this created him a large correspondence, and a world of pains to answer all, yet he was never tired to promote the work of God in the souls of all his acquaintance.

It was his greatest joy, when he had an opportunity to advance the interest of Christ's king-

dom, either by preventing some impending evil, or forwarding some good design. His counsels had no small influence upon the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge. Did he but first see any possibility to execute some good design, he communicated his thoughts to some worthy and pious persons, by what method it might be most likely brought about, who afterwards knew best how to propose it at a proper time and place, where it could take effect: thus he did a great deal of good in secret. It was he who not only first acquainted the said Society, and by that means the whole nation of Great Britain, with the affair of the Protestant Mission at Tranquebar, so that a foundation was laid for that laudable zeal which that honourable Society ever since has shown towards the Mission, as well whilst Mr. Boehm was living, as after his decease, (witness the many continued accounts from Mala-
baria, published successively every year,) but he himself had been of singular service to the Mis-
sion from the very first of its beginning.

How many good counsels and instructions did he give to several students in divinity, as well in regard to their studies, as to their life and conver-
sation! In a particular manner he recommended to them the cultivation of humility, the exer-
cise whereof was the more necessary, the greater talents they had received from God: *Item*, they should learn to communicate their knowledge to

others in a free and easy manner, to habituate themselves to a good style, and exact orthography ; for which end he advised them to translate a little book now and then into another language, and correct something at a printing press, which would teach them accuracy.

The element he lived in was an universal and impartial love and charity towards the poor and needy. He took all possible care to find them out in London, and engaged several others to inquire after such as were strangers and friendless, or in other miserable circumstances, that he might not want objects to exercise his charity upon. Being told by one of his friends, who was at dinner with him, that he was loath to mention any objects of charity to him, but he could not forbear to make intercession for a poor Englishwoman, who was sick and in a pitiful condition : Mr. Boehm answered smiling, "This is my constant saying, and advice, that if any one has no charity to give, he may, according to Job's example, ' be a foot to the lame, and an eye to the blind, and a mouth to the dumb and bashful.' I am glad you do this, and I thank you for it ; and though I have no money to distribute at present, yet sometimes I receive some charity for the poor in Germany and England, and then I am glad of real objects to bestow it upon." He spent one particular afternoon in the week to visit the madhouses and prisons in London, where abundance of people

are confined for debt ; and there his charity was attended with many wholesome instructions to the prisoners. He dedicated a good part of his salary for the benefit of the poor and needy, having learned by his own experience the circumstances of poverty, and the disposition of a heart in distress. He was also an intercessor for the poor with others : when a yearly collection was made at the chapel for the benefit of the poor, he knew how to choose the most moving arguments to excite his auditory to a liberal contribution. In his lodgings he had a box fixed up for the benefit of the poor, with the words of Proverbs xix. 17, written underneath : "He that has pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord ; and that which he has given will he pay him again." And as he was visited by a great many gentlemen, many a poor man has had a comfortable relief from that box. Besides this, he had such another charitable box set up with a pious woman in St. Catherine's, where many seafaring people used to lodge, who had thus an opportunity of performing their vows to God, for their preservation in great dangers at sea, by distributing something towards the relief of the indigent.

He was the author of that charitable Society, which was erected at the Savoy for the benefit of the poor, whose rules or orders he published afterwards in German and English, and by whose contrivance many a poor soul found a comfort-

able relief both inwardly and outwardly. He had also several extraordinary gifts sent him by charitable and wealthy persons in and about London, for the benefit of the poor members of Christ ; all which he distributed and employed without the least shadow of self-glory, or self-interest, to the best of his knowledge. The several sums he received from Prince George of Denmark, and after his death from Queen Anne's own hand, were entirely left to his own disposal, they being well assured he would manage them as a faithful steward ought to do ; and this gave him an opportunity to have many a good discourse with the Queen, which the Lord accompanied with his blessing.

Neither was his charity confined to single persons and families, but it extended itself a great deal farther. When the national peace was to be concluded between France and England, it was by his intercession that the Queen prevailed with the King of France to release all the remaining French Protestants condemned to the galleys. By which opportunity Mr. Boehm sufficiently showed he had no manner of aversion, or hatred, against the members of the Reformed Churches, as some without the least foundation would asperse him with.

With what fidelity he served the dispersed Germans and Palatines, which were designed for America ; in what manner he relieved their

poverty; how he studied to succour their spiritual and temporal necessity, procuring Bibles and other good books to be sent after them, in order to excite them to a serious and constant care for the welfare of their souls; how he encouraged other Christian people in England and Germany, to send good books to them:—all this was long fresh in many persons' memory; and in the day of the Lord Jesus many more, though yet unknown, charitable works of his will be revealed.

He was endowed with real humility, and lowliness of heart. Notwithstanding all the great endowments of nature and grace the Author of all good gifts had bestowed upon him, he was very little in his own eyes. He knew as little as Moses, what lustre he had in his face. Wherefore a certain person, who had been two years conversant with him, attested he had seen in him an extraordinary example, that God gives grace to the humble. He was never exalted when commended, nor dejected when despised. He knew, with St. Paul, both how to be abased, and how to abound, Philip. iv. 12. He knew how to converse with royal persons in a becoming manner; but he knew also how to condescend to men of low estate, and was not ashamed to leave his great visitors sometimes, and go into another room to be edified by the conversation of a poor man who came to speak with him. People that

knew him when he kept school, by which he could scarce procure bread and other necessaries, have attested that he always continued in the same humble disposition, even after his great preferment in the world.

His humility was accompanied with great contentedness. He never murmured nor complained of his extreme poverty, nor of anything else but the sins and offences of the world, and the deep depravity of his heart. He was very moderate in eating and drinking, and an enemy to all superfluity. He had well studied the lesson of self-denial, and he assured his friends, in one of his discourses upon Romans xii. 2, especially upon the good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God, that this was his method in doubtful matters ; namely, to choose that which was the most contrary to flesh and blood ; by which he could afterwards satisfy his conscience that he had not sought his own applause, ease, or interest. And these his words were not mere pretences, but real truth, and matter of fact.

In bodily pains and sufferings he showed an uncommon patience. He bore the exquisite pain of the stone and gravel with great resignation ; a proof of which he gave, when on a certain Sunday he was seized at chapel with a violent fit, but as he never used to complain, so he discovered nothing of it till the hymn was almost finished, and it was just time for him to go to the pulpit.

In that instant, a pretty large and rough stone went from him; but that did not hinder him from preaching. Going once in a dark evening to visit his colleague, the Reverend Mr. Ruperti, at the Savoy, he fell down the stone steps, and broke his arm; and, coming to his colleague, said not one word of the great pain he was in, but dispatched his business, went home, and sent for a Surgeon, who, however, happily cured him.

He kept an exact order in all his affairs. Every day in the week he had his particular task: and his business went on successively throughout the whole year like the motion of a clock; yet without superstition or affectation. If he was interrupted at any time, he soon redressed the same without being perceived by others.

He had the spirit of prayer in great measure bestowed upon him, and was in his addresses to God child-like, confident, fervent, humble, constant, and exciting; as one may see by his *Enchiridion Precum*, which was translated into German, and published last year with my preface.

These are the most eminent graces with which the Lord characterized this his servant. Most of what has been said of him here, is confirmed by the monument erected at Greenwich to his memory. A copy of which is as follows:—

To the Memory

OF

ANTHONY WILLIAM BOEHM,

LATE CHAPLAIN OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE
GEORGE OF DENMARK.

"HE was a German by birth, and brought up at the University of Halle in Saxony, under the tuition of that famous and Reverend Professor Franck; a man, who, for his learning, eloquence, and other excellent endowments, particularly his piety, humility, charity, and beneficence, as also for his writings, but more eminently for the extraordinary proofs of the divine providence in erecting his Orphan-house, has got a great name.

"Mr. Boehm, whose remains are here entombed, and to whose memory this monument has been erected, was always ready to promote acts of charity and piety; wherein he imitated the aforesaid excellent pattern, but rather that of his great Lord and Master, the ever-blessed Jesus; who, as he went about doing good to the souls and bodies of men, so this his servant laboured with an unwearied diligence to promote both the spiritual and eternal salvation, and the temporal welfare, of all mankind.

"The proper character and disposition of his

heart is too large to be described in this small space, and too good to be passed over in silence. His zeal for the glory of God, and the good of souls, was so visible, that as he endeavoured upon all occasions to promote the one, so he neglected no opportunity to procure the other.

"He was a true Pastor, a great Preacher, and very vigilant for the souls under his charge. He was a diligent visiter of the sick and needy, a comforter of the afflicted, a teacher of the ignorant, an enemy of all partiality, yet a zealous defender of true Christianity, and of the pure, holy, and unsophisticated doctrine of the New Testament. He led an unblamable life. He was a pattern of piety, serious in his conversation, humble in his behaviour, meek in spirit, mild in his correction, but powerful and convincing in his arguments, touching home the hearts and consciences of those he conversed with. A worthy example to imitate; though rare to find, and equalled by few. Wherefore he is, no doubt, amongst the number of the righteous, and for his eminent virtues his memory will be blessed to the latest posterity.

"This monument of the now blessed Mr. Boehm may serve as a public and faithful testimony of the value put upon his good qualities in England."

I HAVE no more to add at present to the description of his life, but a list of the fruits of his pen, which I deliver with as much exactness as it has been collected with great care by a friend in England, and is here now ranged in the following order.

I. TRANSLATIONS.

1. *Pietas Hallensis*; or, a public Demonstration of the Footsteps of a Divine Being yet in the World; in an historical Narration of the Orphan-house, and other charitable Institutions, at Glancha, near Halle. 8vo. 1705.

2. *Pietas Hallensis*; or, an Abstract of the marvellous Footsteps of Divine Providence in the building of a very large Hospital, or rather a spacious College, for charitable and excellent uses; and in the maintaining of many Orphans, and other poor People, therein, at Glancha, near Halle, in the Dominions of the King of Prussia. With a Preface of Dr. Josias Woodward. In 12mo. 1706 and 1707, which followed another enlarged impression.

3. *Anno 1710*. The second part of the said Abstract, under the same title. And,

4. *Anno 1716*. The third part was printed, with a Letter of the Author to Dr. Mather in New-England.

5. A translation of the First Account of the Protestant Mission at Tranquebar in the East

Indies, under the title, Propagation of the Gospel, part I. 1709. And 1711, the second edition, with a preliminary Discourse of Mr. Boehm's, of the Character of a true Missionary. And *anno 1713*, the third edition.

6. The second part of the Propagation of the Gospel, 1710; which was likewise reprinted 1711.

7. The third and last part was published 1718.

8. The late Professor Franck's sermon, Faith in Christ, 1709. 8vo.

9. An Account of the Praying Children in Silesia, 1708. 12mo.

10. Early Piety; or, the Life of Christian Lebrecht von Exter. 12mo. 1708.

11. Abstract of the Life of the good Armelle, 1709; and enlarged 1710.

12. Bishop Hopkins's Doctrine of Regeneration.

13. The Doctrine of the Living Knowledge of God, and its genuine Characters, collected from several English Authors, especially from the learned Dr. R. Cudworth; and translated by A. W. B.

14. Isaac Barrow's sermon of Charity towards the Poor.—The other translations of his are specified No. IV. among his manuscripts.

15. He is likewise said to be the author of the translation of the *Theologie du Cœur*, 1702; and of the *Theologie de l'Amour* in the Life of Catherine of Genoa, 1701. H. Bromley's Journeys of the Children of Israel into Canaan.

II. THE WRITINGS OF OTHER AUTHORS, WHICH HE
PUBLISHED EITHER WITH OR WITHOUT HIS
PREFACE.

1. *Augusti Hermanni Franckii Manuductio ad Lectionem Scripturæ*, S. s. 1706.
2. *Ejusdem Definitio Studii Theologici*, London, 1708, by J. Downing in Bartholomew-close, near West-Smithfield, where the rest of his writings are to be had.
3. *Langii Medicina Mentis*, 1715.
4. *Amos Comænii de Bono Unitatis*, 1710.
5. *Animalis homo. Aut. Ed. Reynoldo*, S. T. D. Oxoniensi, edidit et præfatus est, A. W. B. 1719.
6. *Arndii Libri de vero Christianismo*, 2 vols. cum Præfat. Bohemi, 1708.
7. Arndt's True Christianity, in English : the first vol. 1712 ; the second 1714. The first revised by Mr. Boehm himself, and reprinted 1720.
8. Arndt's Garden of Paradise, corrected by him, 1716.
9. A. H. Franck's Nicodemus, 1709 ; reprinted 1709, and dedicated to the Society for Reformation of Manners.
10. The same author's Introduction to the Practice of Christian Religion.
11. Short Introduction concerning the Principles of true Christianity.
12. The pious Remains of Mr. Ludolf.

III. HIS OWN WRITINGS.

1. *Enchiridion Precum, cum Introductione de Natura Orationis*, 1707; edit. 2da. 1715.
2. A volume of his Discourses and Tracts in English, containing,
 - (1.) The Life of a Christian.
 - (2.) The Doctrine of Illumination.
 - (3.) _____ Original Sin.
 - (4.) Spiritual Improvement of Temporal Afflictions.
 - (5.) The Faithful Steward.
 - (6.) The Quality of Christian Love.
 - (7.) Rules of a Charitable Society.
 - (8.) The Doctrine of Justification.
 - (9.) _____ Regeneration.
 - (10.) The Character of a Missionary.
 - (11.) Universal Love.
 - (12.) The Imperfection of the Reformation.
3. The Duty of Reformation, 1718.
4. The Doctrine of Godly Sorrow, 1720.
5. Plain Directions for reading the Holy Bible, 1708; and reprinted 1721.
6. The first Principles of Practical Christianity, in Questions and Answers, expressed in the very Words of Scripture, 1707 and 1710.
In the German language, he published, 1709,
 1. The State or Condition of a Man before, in, and after, his Conversion.

2. The Order and Way in which we must come to Christ, 1710.
3. The true and false Christian: the third edition, 1721.
4. The true and false Christianity, at Nuremberg, 1717.
5. The Sinner's Misery and Comfort, London, 1718; Hamburg, 1721; Halle, 1719 and 1721.
6. The Way to Christ, 1720.
7. The new Creature, 1719 and 1721.
8. The Abuse and right Use of worldly Riches, 1721.
9. The profitable Handling of the Holy Scripture, 1722.
10. Letter of Exhortation to the dispersed Palatines, and other Germans, in America, 1710.
11. Letter to one of his friends in Germany, concerning the Doctrine of the Church of England, in Point of the Difference between the Lutherans, and those of the Reformed Persuasion, 1718.

IV. MANUSCRIPTS.

1. History of the Reformation in England, from Henry VIII. to Charles II., though unfinished.
2. Practical Exposition of the Book of Ruth.
3. Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon; with an Account of those English Authors he made use of.

4. Historical Account of the Latin Edition of J. Arndt's True Christianity, containing an Answer to Dr. Hasaus's Observations upon the unhandsome Censure of an anonymous Person made upon a Passage in the Preface of the said Latin Edition.

5. Bishop Hopkins's sermon of Brotherly Correction, Lev. xix. 17.

6. The same author's sermon of the Right Use of the Holy Scripture, Col. iii. 16.

7. J. Smith's sermon of the Combat and Victory of a Christian, James iv. 7.

8. *Ejusdem*, the Imperfection and Vanity of Pharisaical Righteousness.

END OF VOLUME VIII.

